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HISTORY
OF
THE WAR
OF
THE INDEPENDENCE
OF
THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

WRITTEN BY
CHARLES BOTTA.

TRANSLATED FROM THE ITALIAN,
BY GEORGE ALEXANDER OTIS.

VOLUME THIRD.

PHILADELPHIA:
PRINTED FOR THE TRANSLATOR.

J. MAXWELL, PRINTER.

1821.

Carolina. Magnanimity of the women of that province. Campaign by sea. Engagements between the Count de Guichen and admiral Rodney. Dreadful hurricane in the West Indies. The English capture a French convoy, and the Spaniards a British convoy. Siege of Gibraltar. Parties in Holland. Secret treaty between the Congress and the city of Amsterdam. Rupture between England and Holland. Revival of ardour among the Americans. M. de la Fayette arrives from France in America, and brings good news. Bank of Philadelphia. Academy of Massachusetts. The Count de Rochambeau, arrives in Rhode Island, with French troops. War rekindles in South Carolina. General Gates takes the command of the southern army. Battle of Cambden between Gates and Cornwallis. Bloody executions in South Carolina. Conspiracy and treason. Deplorable Death of major Andre. Hostilities in the Carolinas. Battle of King's mountain. Affair of Blackstocks. Gates succeeded by general Green. Battle of Cowpens. Admirable pursuit of the English and no less admirable retreat of the Americans. Battle of Guildford between Green and Cornwallis. Green marches upon the Carolinas; Cornwallis upon Virginia.

BOOK THIRTEENTH.

SUMMARY.

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BOOK FOURTEENTH.

SUMMARY.

Plans of the belligerent powers. The combined fleets menace the coasts of England. Intrigues of the new ministers. Campaign of the West Indies. Memorable engagement of the twelfth of April 1782, between the Count de Grasse and admiral Rodney. Siege of Gibraltar. Description of that fortress. Floating batteries. General attack. Victory of Elliot. Admiral Howe re-victuals Gibraltar. Negotiations of peace. Signature of treaties. Alarming agitation in the army of Congress. It is disbanded. Washington divests himself of the supreme command, and retires to his seat at Mount Vernon.

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LIST OF WORKS

*Consulted by the author for writing the History of the
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ENGLISH.

Journals of the House of Lords; Journals of the House of Commons, in fol. printed by order of the two houses, from 1764 to 1783.

Authentic account of the Proceedings of Congress, held at New York in 1765. Almon, 1767.

Journals of the Proceedings of the Congress, in 8vo. Dilly, 1775.

Journals of Congress held at Philadelphia, for Almon, 1786.

The Parliamentary Register, &c. all the volumes from 1766 to 1783.

The Annual Register....all the volumes from 1764 to 1783.

Historical Anecdotes relative to the American rebellion, 1 vol. 8vo. 1779.

The Remembrancer, or impartial repository of public events; the second edition, London, for I. Almon, with the prior documents.

Letters on the American Troubles, translated from the French of M. Pinto, 1776.

An impartial History of the War in America between Great Britain and her colonies, from its commencement to the end of the year 1779, in 8vo. for Faulders, 1780.

The History of the Civil War in America, comprehending the campaigns of 1775, 1776, 1777; by an officer of the army, in 8vo. for Sewall, 1781.

A genuine detail of the several engagements, positions and movements of the Royal and American armies, during the years 1775 and 1776, with an accurate account of the blockade of Boston, &c.; by William Carter, in 4to. for Kearsley, 1785.

- An impartial and authentic narrative of the battle fought on the 17th June, on Bunker's-hill: by John Clarke, 1775.
- A History of the Campaigns of 1780 and 1781 in the southern provinces of North America; by lieutenant-colonel Tarleton, Dublin, 1 vol. 8vo. 1787.
- Strictures on lieutenant-colonel Tarleton's History of the campaigns of 1780 and 1781, by Roderick Mackenzie, in 8vo. 1787.
- The History of the American Revolution, by David Ramsay, 2 vols. 8vo. Philadelphia, 1789.
- History of the War with America, France, Spain and Holland, commencing in 1775, and ending in 1783, by John Andrews, 4 vols. in 8vo. London, for J. Fielding, 1785.
- The History of the Rise, Progress, and Establishment of the Independence of the United States of America, by William Gordon, London, printed for the author, and sold by Charles Dilly, 1788, 4 vols. 8vo.
- An Historical, Geographical, Commercial and Philosophical View of the American United States, and of the European settlements in America, and the West Indies: by W. Winterbotham, 4 vols. in 8vo. London, 1795.
- The Life of George Washington, by John Marshall, chief justice of the United States, 5 vols. in 8vo. London, for Richard Philips, 1804, 1805, 1807.
- The Life of Washington, by David Ramsay, 1 vol. 8vo. New York, 1807, printed by Hopkins and Seymour.
- Letters addressed to the Army of the United States, in the year 1783, with a brief exposition; by Buel, Kingston, State of New York, 1803.

FRENCH.

- Revolution d'Amerique, par l'abbé Raynal, Londres, 1781.
- Lettre adressée à l'abbé Raynal, sur les affaires de l'Amerique Septentrionale, traduite de l'Anglais de Thomas Payne, 1783.
- Essais historiques et politiques sur les Anglo-Américains, par M. Hilliard d'Auberteuil, 4 vols. in 8vo Bruxelles. 1781.
- Histoire de l'administration de Lord North, et de la guerre de l'Amerique septentrionale, jusqu' à la paix de 1783, 2 vols. in 8vo. Londres et Paris, 1784.

Histoire impartiale des evenemens militaire et politiques de la dernière guerre dans les quatre parties du monde, 3 vols. Amsterdam et Paris, chez la veuve Duchesne, 1785.

Constitution des treize Etats Unis d'Amerique, Philadelphie et Paris, 1783.

Affaires de l'Angleterre et de l'Amerique, 17 vols. in 8vo. Anvers.

Voyages de M. le Marquis de Chastelux dans l'Amerique Septentrionale, pendant les années 1780, 1781 et 1782, 2 vols. in 8vo. Paris, chez Prault, 1786.

Histoire des troubles de l'Amerique Anglaise, &c. par François Soules, 4 vols. in 8vo. Paris, chez Buisson, 1787.

Histoire de la dernière guerre entre la Grande Bretagne et les Etats Unis d'Amerique, la France, l'Espagne et la Hollande, depuis son commencement en 1775, jusqu'à sa fin en 1783, 1 vol. 4to. Paris, chez Brocas, 1787.

Histoire de la Revolution de l'Amerique, par rapport à la Caroline meridionale, par David Ramsay, membre du Congrès Americain; traduit de l'Anglais, 2 vols. 8vo. Londres et Paris, chez Frouille, 1787.

Recherches historiques et politiques sur les Etats Unis de l'Amerique Septentrionale, par un citoyen de Virginie, 4 vols. in 8vo. Paris, chez Frouille, 1788.

Discussions importantes, debattues au parlement Britannique, 4 vols. in 8vo. Paris, chez Maradan et Perlet, 1790.

Mémoires historiques et pièces authentiques sur M. de la Fayette. 1 vol. in 8vo. Paris, l'an 2, (1793).

To the foregoing works should be added a great number of pamphlets, which, during the American revolution, were published daily, as well in England as in America and France. Lastly, even among the actors of the great events which he has related, the author has had the good fortune to find individuals as polite as well informed, who have deigned to furnish him with important manuscripts. He prays them to accept here the public expression of his acknowledgement.

BIOGRAPHY OF THE AUTHOR.

CHARLES JOSEPH WILLIAM BOTTA, was born at St. George, province of Vercelli in Piedmont, in 1766. He studied medicine at the university of Turin, and was employed as physician to the army of the Alps; afterwards to that of Italy. About this time he composed an extensive work, containing a plan of government for Lombardy. Towards the close of 1798, he was sent to the islands of the Levant with the division detached thither by general Buonaparte.

On his return to Italy he published a description of the island of Corfu, and of the maladies prevalent there during his stay; 2 vols. 8vo.

In the year seven of the French Republic, (1799) general Joubert appointed him member of the provisional government of Piedmont. This provisional government having been dissolved at the arrival of the commissioner Musset, Botta was appointed member of the administration of the department of the Po. At the epoch of the Austro-Russian invasion, he again took refuge in France. The minister of war, Bernadotte, re-appointed him physician of the army of the Alps; and after the battle of Marengo, the commander-in-chief of the army of reserve appointed him member of the *Consulta* of Piedmont.

At the commencement of 1801, he was member of the executive commission, and afterwards, of the council of general administration of the twenty-seventh military division. Botta likewise made part of the deputation which came to Paris in 1803 to present thanks to the government upon the definitive adjunction of Piedmont, and there published an historical sketch of the history of Savoy and Piedmont. Immediately after the union, he was elected member of the legislative body by the department of the Doura, the tenth of August, 1804. The twenty-eighth of October, 1808, he was created vice-president, and on the expiration of his term, was re-elected in 1809, and proposed the ninth of December as candidate for the

questorship. The emperor granted him soon after the decoration of the order of the Union.

The third of January, 1810, he presented to Buonaparte, in the name of the academy of sciences of Turin, the two last volumes of its memoirs. He adhered the third of April, 1814, to the deposition of Napoleon and his family. The eighth, he accepted the constitutional act which recalled the Bourbons to the throne of France, but he ceased to make part of the legislative body on the separation of Piedmont. At the return of Buonaparte in 1815, he was appointed rector of the academy of Nanci, but lost this place after the second restoration of the king.

Besides the works already named, he has published,

1, At Turin, in 1801, an Italian translation of the work of Born, of which Broussonet had given to the public a French version, in 1784.

2, A memoir upon the doctrine of Brown, 1800, in 8vo.

3, Notes of a tour in Dalmatia, 1812.

4, Memoir upon the nature of tones and sounds, read before the academy of Turin, and inserted (by extract) in the *Bibliothèque Italienne*, tome I. Turin, 1803, 8vo.

5, The history of the war of the independence of America, 1809, 4 vols. 8vo.

6, *Il Camillo, O Vejo conquistato*, (Camillus, or Veii conquered,) an epic poem in twelve cantos. Paris, 1816. This work has received high encomiums in the European journals. Botta has contributed some articles to the *Biographie Universelle*, among others, that of John Adams.

The Translator is indebted for the preceding notice of Botta, to the complaisance of an estimable countryman and acquaintance of the Historian.

HISTORY
OF
THE AMERICAN WAR.

BOOK ELEVENTH.

1778.

D'ESTAING and Hotham were not yet arrived in the West Indies, when commodore Evans had made a descent upon the two islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon, both very favourably situated for the fishery of Newfoundland. Being almost without defence, he occupied them easily: and, as if he had wished to efface every vestige of the French domination, he imitated the conduct of barbarians, and utterly destroyed the habitations, store-houses, and scaffoldings which had been constructed for the use of the fishery. He afterwards embarked all the inhabitants, who, with the garrisons, amounted to two thousand souls, and sent them to Europe.

The French made themselves ample amends for this loss, by seizing, as they did soon after, the island of Dominico; which, being situated between Guadaloupe and Martinico, was of the last conse-

quence to the future operations in that part. Of this the British government was not ignorant, and therefore had fortified it with diligence, and furnished it with a formidable artillery. But, neither the garrison nor the munitions corresponded to the importance of its local position: the public magazines were nearly empty, and all the soldiers in the island scarcely amounted to five hundred; the greater part militia. For a long time, the members of the opposition in parliament, and the merchants of London, had complained aloud that the islands of the West Indies were left without sufficient garrisons, and, as it were, abandoned to the discretion of the enemy. But all these remonstrances had been vain: whether the war of America had absorbed all the cares of the ministers, or that it had deprived them of the means of sending troops into those islands. The French, on the contrary, were in such force in their colonies, as to be in a condition not only to defend themselves, but also to attack their neighbours. Moreover, they had been the first to receive the news of the declaration of war in Europe. The English frigates despatched to announce it, had fallen into the power of the French, upon the coasts of St. Domingo: so that admiral Barrington, who was stationed at Barbadoes with two ships of the line and two frigates, was first informed of the state of affairs from the manifesto published at Martinico, by the Marquis de Bouille, governor of that island. The capture of the frigates had likewise apprized him, that war was declared not only, but commenced. This admiral showed himself very undecided with respect to the course he had to pursue: not having new instructions, he felt bound

to adhere to the old, which required him to continue in the station of Barbadoes.

The Marquis de Bouille, an active man, and prompt in taking his resolutions, willing to avail himself of the uncertainty and weakness of the English, determined to commence his operations with an enterprise of importance. Having embarked with two thousand land troops in eighteen transports, under convoy of the frigates *Tourterelle*, *Diligente*, and *Amphitrite*, he arrived at the island of Dominico, the seventh of September, about day-break. He immediately put all his forces on shore. M. de Fonteneau, protected by the fire of the *Diligente*, pushed forward to Fort Cachac, and seized it without resistance. The English cannonaded briskly from Fort Roseau, and the battery of Lubieres. Nevertheless, M. de la Chaise, at the head of the rangers of the Auxerrese regiment, advanced impetuously up to the battery: the French soldiers entered by the embrasures, and, grappling the mouths of the cannon, made themselves masters of them. During this time, the Viscount de Damas had gained the heights which command Fort Roseau, and the Marquis de Bouille, with the main body of his troops, had entered the suburbs. The frigate *Tourterelle* also battered the fort on her part; the English, however, defended themselves with vigour. But at length, governor Stuart, seeing his forces so inferior, and the French about to scale for the assault, demanded to capitulate. The Marquis de Bouille, whether with intent to engage by his moderation the governors of other English islands to surrender more easily, or because he feared the arrival of Barrington, who was very

near, or, as it should be presumed, merely consulting the generosity of his own character, granted the most honourable conditions to the enemy. The garrison were treated with all the honours of war, and the inhabitants secured in the possession of all their property: no change was to be made in the laws or the administration of justice. If, at the termination of the war, the island should be ceded to France, they were to have the option of retaining their present system of government, or of conforming to that established in the French islands. They were also to be at liberty, in such case, to retire with all their property, wherever they might see fit: those who should remain, were not to be bound to any duty to the king of France, more than what they had owed to their natural sovereign.

The French found on the fortifications and in the magazines an hundred and sixty-four pieces of excellent cannon, and twenty-four mortars, besides a certain quantity of military stores. The privateers that were found in the ports of the island, were either destroyed or carried away. The capitulation was observed with the strictest fidelity; no kind of plunder or irregularity was permitted. As a recompense for their services upon this occasion, the general distributed among his soldiers a pecuniary gratification. He remained but a short time at Dominico, and having left the Marquis Duchilleau for governor, with a garrison of fifteen hundred men, he returned to Martinico. But if the moderation and generosity of the Marquis de Bouille were deserving of the highest encomium, the conduct of Duchilleau was no less memorable for its violence and inhumanity. He

countenanced the unbridled licentiousness of his troops, and thus abandoned, as it were, the vanquished to the discretion of the victors. Such are the deplorable effects of national hatred! The inhabitants of Dominico were not delivered from the rigorous domination of Duchilleau until peace was re-established between the two states.

As soon as he was informed of the attack upon Dominico, admiral Barrington, deeming the importance of the occurrence as paramount to his instructions, sailed with all possible speed to its assistance, in order, if not too late, to frustrate the attempt of the enemy. But he did not arrive until the Marquis de Bouille was already in safety under the cannon of Martinico. His presence, however, contributed much to re-assure the inhabitants of the neighbouring English islands, whom the fate of Dominico and their own defenceless condition, had filled with consternation.

But this expedition was only the prelude of more important events, which succeeded soon after. The Count D'Estaing and commodore Hotham had taken their departure for the West Indies, as we have related, on the same day: the first for Martinico, the second for Barbadoes. The two fleets sailed in a parallel direction during great part of the voyage, and very near each other, but without knowing any thing of their proximity; the English, however, suspecting the danger, were extremely careful to keep their squadron as close and collected as possible. If it consisted of smaller vessels than those of the French, it was also much more numerous. The Count D'Estaing, if he had been at all aware of the real state

of things, might have profited of his great superiority to overwhelm the British fleet, and especially its numerous vessels of transport, which carried out the land forces wherein consisted the only means of preserving to the British crown its rich possessions in those seas. A violent storm, however, having dispersed the two fleets, three English vessels fell in with those of the French, and were taken. This incident apprized D'Estaing of what had fallen out; but from the dispersion of his squadron he was unable to give chase. He determined, nevertheless, to change his course; and, instead of continuing to stand for Martinico, he steered in the direction of Antigua, under the persuasion that the British were bound for that island, and not to Barbadoes. He hoped to be able to arrive there before they were landed, or even anchored in the ports, and consequently to prostrate at a single blow their whole force by sea and land. This stroke would have been almost without remedy for England: so complete a victory would have enabled the Count D'Estaing to annihilate her domination in the West Indies. But fortune had decided otherwise: The English shaped their course directly for Barbadoes, and reached it safely the tenth of December. Hotham there made his junction with Barrington, who was already returned.

The French Admiral, having arrived very promptly in the waters of Antigua, remained cruising there for several days; but at length, not seeing the enemy appear, and concluding that they had taken another direction, he changed his own, and stood for Martinico.

The English generals having no suspicion of the vicinity of so formidable an enemy, determined without delay to attack St. Lucia. Its position in the front of Martinico, its natural strength, and its works rendered this post of extreme importance for the operations of the war. Admiral Barrington having taken on board his squadron a corps of four thousand selected troops, sailed for St. Lucia and arrived there the thirteenth of December. General Meadows landed at the head of a strong detachment, and advanced with celerity to gain the heights which command the north shore of the bay of *Grand-Cul-de-Sac*. They were occupied by the Chevalier de Micou, the commandant of the Island, with some few regulars, and the militia of the country. He made the most of a few pieces of artillery to annoy the debarkation of the English, and their march towards the hills. But unable with so small a force to prolong the valiant resistance he opposed at first, he fell back upon the capital, called Morne Fortune. The English took possession of the heights. At the same time, general Prescott had landed with five regiments and had occupied all the positions contiguous to the bay. The next morning, Meadows forming the van and Prescott the rear, the English marched against the town of Morne Fortune. Overpowered by number, the Chevalier Micou was forced to abandon it to the enemy. He retired into the more rough and difficult parts of the island, where he was also protected by his artillery. As fast as he fell back, Prescott took care to occupy the posts with troops and artillery. But general Meadows thought it essential to make himself master of Careenage-Harbour, situated three

miles to the north of Grand-Cul-de-Sac bay; the French might, in fact, have landed succours there, and attacked the British in flank. In defiance of the difficulty of the places, and the heat of a burning sun, he pressed forward to seize the height called de la Vierge, which rises on the north side of Careenage-Harbour, and completely commands its entrance. Another detachment occupied the south point of the harbour, and erected a battery upon it. General Calder, with the rest of the troops, took position on the south side of Grand-Cul-de-Sac bay, so that from this point to the northern shore of the Careenage; all the posts fell into the power of the English. The squadron of Barrington lay at anchor in Grand-Cul-de-Sac bay, his vessels of war at the entrance, and those of transport within. The Chevalier de Micou continued still to occupy a very strong fort upon the crest of the mountains. The English might already consider themselves as sure of success, and the French had no hope left but in the immediate succour of the Count D'Estaing, when this admiral all at once appeared in view of the Island, with his original squadron of twelve sail of the line, accompanied by a numerous fleet of frigates, privateers and transports, which brought a land-force of nine thousand men. He had received early intelligence of the attack on St. Lucia; an event which he considered as the most fortunate that could have happened, it seeming to afford the means of destroying at a single blow, and from his great superiority almost without risk, the British power in the West Indies. Accordingly, he had not delayed a moment to embark in order to pounce upon an enemy that did not expect him. And in truth, if

he had arrived twenty-four hours sooner, his hopes must have been realized. But the English were already in possession of the principal posts, and had fortified themselves therein; moreover, the day was far advanced, when the French armament appeared; it was necessary to defer the attack until the ensuing morning. Admiral Barrington profited of the night, to make his dispositions for sustaining it. He caused the transports to be removed into the bottom of the Grand-Cul-de-Sac, to be as remote from danger as possible; the ships of war he placed in their respective stations, so as to form a line across its entrance, and repel the efforts of the enemy to the most advantage. His force consisted only of his own ship, the Prince of Wales, of seventy-four guns, the Boyne of seventy, St. Albans and Nonsuch of sixty-four, the Centurion and Isis, of fifty each, and three frigates.

The count D'Estaing, not mistrusting that Careenage-Harbour was already occupied by the enemy, stood in for it with his whole fleet, on the morning of the fifteenth. His purpose was to take land there and hasten to attack the right flank of the English, who, as he had observed himself, occupied the Grand-Cul-de-Sac. But no sooner had he presented himself before the entrance of the Careenage than the English batteries erected upon the two points opened a heavy fire which damaged several of his vessels, and particularly his own ship the Languedoc. Convinced of the impossibility of operating a descent in this part, he bore down with ten sail of the line on the British admiral, with intent to force the passage, and penetrate into the bay, which must have proved the utter ruin of the English. A warm engagement en-

sued: but, supported by the batteries from the shore, the British valiantly sustained the attack of an enemy so superior. D'Estaing drew off a little; but, towards evening, he renewed the battle with twelve ships. His efforts were still more impetuous: he directed the fire of his artillery principally against the left of the British line. But neither the re-enforcement he had received, nor the singular firmness and gallantry displayed by all his people, were capable of rendering this attack more successful than the former. The English made so vigorous and so well supported a defence, that D'Estaing was again compelled to retire, with his ships severely damaged, and in no little confusion. Admiral Barrington acquired imperishable glory: he secured to his country the possession of an island which, only twenty-four hours after its conquest, had been upon the point of falling anew under the dominion of its ancient masters. But D'Estaing, finding that fortune was disposed to frown on his maritime attacks, resorted to his land forces, which were very considerable. Accordingly, in the night of the sixteenth and the following morning, he landed his troops in Choc-Bay, which lies between Gros-Islet and the Careenage. His intention was to attack general Meadows, who, with a corps of thirteen hundred men, was encamped in the little Peninsula de la Vierge, situated between the Careenage and the above named Choc-Bay. He had great hopes of being able to surprise and cut him off entirely, as well by reason of the difficulty of the places which separated this corps from all the others, as from the diversion which he purposed to make by threatening several points at once. In pursuance of

this plan, he advanced from Choc-Bay towards the peninsula, with five thousand of his best troops, in order to attack the lines of Meadows, which were drawn across the isthmus that joins it to the main land. He had formed three columns: the right was commanded by himself, the centre by the Count de Leowendal, and the left by the Marquis de Bouille. The French moved at first with admirable order, but as they approached, their position became extremely critical. They found themselves severely enfiladed by the artillery of Morne-Fortune, which the Chevalier de Micou, on evacuating that fort, had neglected to spike. But notwithstanding this impediment, they rushed on to the charge with incredible impetuosity. The English expected their approach with equal coolness: they suffered them to advance to the intrenchments without opposition; when, after firing once, they received them on the bayonet. That fire had, of course, a dreadful effect; but the French, notwithstanding, supported the conflict with undaunted resolution. Already seventy of them had leapt within the intrenchment, where they acquitted themselves strenuously: but the English enveloped them, and soon they were all victims of their temerity. Nevertheless, the assailants recovered their breath, and returned to the charge with no less eagerness and fury than at first. The English encountered them with the same intrepidity, and a second time compelled them to withdraw. But D'Estaing, in the transport of his ardour, unable to endure that so feeble a detachment should baffle the efforts of his numerous veterans, ordered a third attack. He was promptly obeyed. But the soldiers being much ex-

hausted by their exertions in the two first, no longer displayed the same vigour. They were totally broken and obliged to retreat, leaving their dead and wounded in the power of the victors. It was, however, agreed soon after, that the French should be permitted to bury the one, and to carry off the other, D'Estaing having rendered himself accountable for the wounded as prisoners of war. General Meadows manifested, in this affair, equal ability and valour: though wounded in the very commencement of the action, no persuasions could induce him to quit the field until it was decided. The loss of the French was serious. Four hundred were killed on the spot; five hundred were so severely wounded as to be rendered incapable of service; five hundred others were wounded slightly. The loss of the English, in consequence of the advantage of their position, was inconsiderable. The Count D'Estaing left his troops on shore still, for several days after the battle; during this time he continued standing off and on with his fleet, in sight of the island, hoping that some occasion might present itself of operating more effectively. But at length he embarked his troops, in the night of the twenty-eighth, and sailed to Martinico the following day, having abandoned the enterprise of St. Vincent and Grenada, which islands he had purposed to attack. The day after his departure, the Chevalier de Micou capitulated: his garrison consisted of only an hundred men. He obtained the most favourable conditions. He marched out with all the honours of war: his soldiers retained their baggage, but not their arms. The inhabitants, and especially the curates, were protected in their persons, property, and religion.

They were to pay to the king of Great Britain the same taxes only, that they were accustomed to pay to the king of France: finally, they were not to be compelled to bear arms against their late sovereign.

The English found in the forts fifty-nine pieces of cannon, a great number of muskets, and an immense quantity of military stores. Thus fell into the power of the English the island of St. Lucia: it was an acquisition of extreme importance to them. They made of it the place of arms for all their forces in the West Indies, and the repository of all their munitions. From its proximity to Martinico, they were enabled, without risk, to watch all the movements of the French in the bay of Fort-Royal, and to intercept the re-enforcements and convoys that might approach it by the channel of St. Lucia. They strengthened it with many new works, and constantly maintained in it a numerous garrison, notwithstanding the great loss of men it cost them from the insalubrity of the climate.

A few days after the retreat of the Count D'Estaing, admiral Byron arrived in that part with nine sail of the line, and came to anchor at St. Lucia.

There resulted from it a sort of tacit truce between the two parties: the English having too decided a superiority of naval, and the French of land forces. This armistice, which lasted five months, was not interrupted until the squadron of commodore Rawley had joined the fleet of Byron, and the Count D'Estaing had been re-enforced by that of the Chevalier de la Motte-Piquet and of the Count de Grasse. These several re-enforcements were despatched from Europe to the West Indies about the close of the year: the two governments having reflected at the

same time how important it was to have formidable maritime forces in the midst of these rich islands, situated at little distance one from the other, and intermingled, as it were, with those of the enemy.

It is time to return upon the American Continent. The British ministers and generals had taken the determination to direct their greatest efforts towards the southern parts of the confederation. Under the persuasion that the inhabitants of these provinces supported with repugnance the yoke of the republicans, they hoped to find in the loyalists an efficacious co-operation for the re-establishment of the royal authority. Other, and no less powerful motives, conduced to decide them for this expedition. The provinces of the south, and especially Georgia and Carolina, abound in fertile lands, which produce copious crops of wheat, and particularly of rice, than which nothing could be more essential to the support of a fleet and army, at so great a distance from their principal sources of supply. The parts of the American territory which had hitherto fallen into the power of the English, had offered them but a feeble resource, and they were obliged to draw the greatest part of their provisions from Europe, through all the perils of the sea, and the swarms of American privateers which continually preyed on their convoys. It is, besides, to be observed, that the rice of Georgia and South Carolina served to nourish the French fleets, and the troops that formed the garrisons of their islands in the West Indies.

The quiet and security which these provinces had hitherto enjoyed, admitted so vigorous a cultivation, that the products of it not only furnished an inex-

haustible resource to the allies of the Americans, but, being exported to the markets of Europe, constituted the material of a commerce, by which they received those supplies which were necessary as well to the support of the war, as to the conducting of the common business and affairs of life. The English also reflected that, as Georgia borders upon East Florida, the latter was exposed to constant alarms and incursions on the part of the republicans: and they were convinced that there existed no effectual means of securing the quiet of that province, short of compelling the troops of Congress to evacuate Georgia and the Carolinas. The conquest of the first of these provinces, they had little doubt, would ensure them that of the two others: and they promised themselves with full assurance the possession of Charleston, a rich and populous city, and of extreme importance, both for its situation and port. Such were the advantages the English expected to derive from their expedition against the southern provinces.

To these considerations was added another; the severity of the season no longer admitted operations in the mountainous provinces of the north. Accordingly, general Clinton, as we have related in the preceding book, had embarked for Georgia under convoy of commodore Hyde Parker, a detachment of twenty-five hundred men, consisting of English, Hessians and refugees. He hoped, by the assistance of these last, and their partisans, to find easy admission into that province. This corps was under the command of colonel Campbell, an officer of distinguished valour and capacity. Clinton, at the same time, had ordered general Prevost, who commanded in the Floridas,

to collect all the troops that could be spared from the defence of those provinces, and to march also against Georgia, in order that it might be attacked at once in front, on the part of the sea by Campbell, and in flank, on the banks of the Savannah river by Prevost. The plan of this expedition thus arranged, commodore Hyde Parker and colonel Campbell arrived towards the close of December at the isle of Tybee, situated near the mouth of the Savannah. The transports had little difficulty in passing the bar and entering into that river. They were followed a few days after by the ships of war, so that all the fleet lay together at anchor in its waters on the twenty-seventh of December, ready to execute the orders of the commanders for the invasion of the province. The latter not knowing what were the forces, the measures of defence, and the intentions of the republicans, detached some light infantry to scour the adjacent banks. They took two Georgians, from whom it was understood that no intimation had been received in the province of the project of the royalists; that consequently no preparations for defence had been made; that the batteries which protected the entrance of the rivers were out of condition, and that the armed gallies were so placed that they might easily be surprised. It was also learned that the garrison of Savannah, the capital of the province, was very feeble, but that it was soon to be re-enforced. Upon this intelligence, the British commander no longer delayed to commence his operations.

The whole country on the two banks of the Savannah, from its mouth to a considerable distance above, being a continued tract of deep marsh, inter-

sected by the extensive creeks of St. Augustine and Tybee, it offers no point capable of serving as a place of debarkation. The English were therefore under the necessity of moving higher up in order to reach the usual landing place, at which commences a very narrow cause-way that leads to the city. This post, extremely difficult of itself, might have been vigorously defended by the Americans. But, surprised by an unexpected attack, or destitute of sufficient force, they made no opposition to the descent of the English, who landed at first their light troops. The cause-way leads through a rice swamp, and is flanked on each side by a deep ditch. Six hundred yards above the landing place, and at the head of the cause-way, rises an abrupt eminence, upon which was situated the house of a certain *Gerridoe*. It was occupied by a detachment of republicans. As soon as the light infantry, the greater part Scotch Highlanders, had landed under the command of captain Cameron, they formed, and pushed forward along the dike to attack the post of the Americans. The latter received them with a smart fire of musketry; Cameron was mortally wounded. Incensed at the loss of their captain, the Highlanders advanced with such rapidity, that the Americans had no time for charging again, and instantly fled. The English seized the height; colonel Campbell having ascended it, in order to view the country, discovered the army of the enemy drawn up about half a mile east of the town of Savannah. It was commanded by major-general Robert Howe, and appeared disposed to make a firm stand to cover the capital of the province. It consisted in a strong corps of continental troops, and the militia of the

country. It was so disposed that its two wings extended on the two sides of the great road leading to Savannah. The right, under the command of colonel Eugee, and composed of Carolinians, was to the south, having its flank towards the country protected by a wooded swamp and by the houses of Tatnal. The left, having the road on its right flank, was covered on the left by rice swamps. It consisted for the most part of Georgians, under the orders of colonel Elbert. One piece of cannon was planted at each extremity of the American line, and two pieces occupied the traverse, across the great road in the centre. About one hundred yards in front of this traverse, at a critical point between two swamps, a trench was cut across the road, and about one hundred yards in front of the trench, ran a marshy rivulet, the bridge over which had been destroyed. Lastly, the Americans had on their rear the town of Savannah itself, which was surrounded by a moat.

The British commander, having left a detachment to guard the landing place, and another to secure a neighbouring cross road, to cover his rear, advanced directly towards the enemy. He endeavoured to devise the most expedient mode of attacking them in the strong position they occupied. By the movements of the Americans, he was not long in perceiving that they expected and even desired that he should engage their left wing: he accordingly omitted no means in use on similar occasions, with experienced commanders, that could serve to cherish that opinion and continue its delusion. He drew off a part of his forces to form on his right, where he also displayed his light infantry. His intention, however,

was to attack the right wing of the Americans. While making his dispositions, chance threw into his hands a negro, by whom he was informed of a private path through the wooded swamp on the enemy's right, which led to their rear. The negro offered to show the way, and promised infallible success. Colonel Campbell resolved to profit of the occasion which fortune seemed to have provided him. He accordingly directed Sir James Baird to pursue with his light infantry the indicated path, turn the right of the Americans, and fall in by surprise upon their rear. The New York volunteers under colonel Tumbull, were ordered to support the light infantry. While Baird and Tumbull, guided by the negro, proceeded to execute this movement, Campbell posted his artillery in a field on the left of the road, concealed from the enemy by a swell of ground in the front. It was destined to bear upon the Carolinians, and to cannonade any body of troops in flank, which they might detach into the wood to retard the progress of Baird's light infantry. Meanwhile, the republicans continued to ply their artillery with great animation; the royalists were motionless; a circumstance which doubtless would have excited alarm if their enemies had been either more experienced, or less sanguine. At length, when Campbell conceived that Baird had reached his position, he suddenly unmasked his artillery, and marched briskly on to the enemy, who were still totally blind to their danger.

The charge of the English and Hessians was so impetuous, that the Americans, unable to withstand its shock, immediately fell into confusion and dispersed. The victors pursued them. During this time,

the light infantry of Baird had gained the rear of the American right. They fell in with a body of Georgian militia, who were stationed to guard the great road from Ogeeche, and routed them at the first onset. As they were in pursuit of the fugitives, on their way to fall upon the main body of the Americans, the latter, already discomfited, came running across the plain full in their front. The disorder and dismay that now ensued, were past all remedy; the victory of the English was complete. Thirty-eight commissioned officers, upwards of four hundred non-commissioned and privates, forty-eight pieces of cannon, twenty-three mortars, the fort with its ammunition and stores, the shipping in the river, a large quantity of provisions, with the capital of Georgia, were all in the hands of the conquerors before dark. The loss of the Americans, owing to their prompt flight, was very small. Only about four score fell in the action and pursuit, and about thirty more perished in their attempts to escape through the swamp. The English lost perhaps not twenty men in dead and wounded. This singular good fortune was the fruit of the excellent dispositions of colonel Campbell. He distinguished himself no less by an humanity the more deserving of praise, as he could not have forgotten the harsh treatment he had received in the prisons of Boston. Not only was the town of Savannah preserved from pillage, but such was the excellent discipline observed, that though the English entered it with the fugitives, as into a city taken by storm, not a single person suffered who had not arms in his hand, and who was not besides in the act either of flight or resistance. A

strong circumstantial testimony, that those enormities so frequently committed in time of war, should with more justice be charged to the negligence or immediate participation of the chiefs, than to the ungovernable license of the soldiers.

1779. Having thus made themselves masters of the capital, the British troops soon overran the whole province of Georgia. Their commander issued a proclamation, by which he offered pardon to deserters, and exhorted the friends of the English name to repair to the royal standard, promising them assistance and protection; this step was not altogether fruitless. A considerable number presented themselves; they were formed into a regiment of light dragoons. But the more determined republicans preferring exile to submission, withdrew into South Carolina.

The English also employed all their address to induce the republican soldiers they had made prisoners to enlist in the service of the king: but their efforts were nearly fruitless. They were, therefore, crowded on board vessels, where, from the heat of the weather in the following summer, and the bad air concomitant with their mode of confinement, the greater part perished. The officers were sent on parole to Sunbury, the only town in the province which still held for the Congress; but Moses Allen, the chaplain of the Georgians, was retained, and thrust, a prisoner on board the vessels, amongst the common soldiers. This minister of religion had not contented himself with exciting the people to assert their independence in his discourses from the pulpit, he

appeared also, with arms in hand, on the field of battle, exhibiting in his own person an admirable example of valour, and devotion to the cause of country.

Weary of the protracted rigours of his captivity, he one day threw himself into the river, hoping to escape, by swimming, to a neighbouring island; but he was drowned, to the great regret of all his fellow-citizens, who venerated his virtues, and justly appreciated his intrepidity. The Americans, too much enfeebled to keep the field, passed the Savannah at Zubly, and retreated into South Carolina. The English, on the contrary, now masters of the greater part of Georgia, frequently scoured the banks of the river, in order to disquiet the enemy, who was still in possession of the countries situated on the left bank.

In the meantime, general Prevost had put himself on the march from East Florida, to execute the orders of general Clinton. He had to struggle with the most formidable impediments, as well from the difficulty of the places as from the want of provisions. At length, after excessive fatigues and hardships, being arrived in Georgia, he attacked the fort of Sunbury. The garrison, consisting of about two hundred men, made some show of defence; and gave him the trouble of opening trenches. But, although they were supported by some armed vessels and galleys, yet all hope of relief being now totally cut off by the reduction of the rest of the province, they found it necessary to surrender at discretion. They were treated humanely. This happened just at the time when colonel Campbell had already set out on an expedition for the reduction of Sunbury. The

two English corps made their junction with reciprocal felicitations. General Prevost repaired to Savannah, where he took the command of all the British troops that, coming from New York and from St. Augustine, had conquered to the king the entire province of Georgia. After such brilliant success, the British commanders deliberated upon what they had to do next. They were perfectly aware that their forces were not sufficient to act in a decisive manner against Carolina, a powerful province, animated with the same spirit, especially in the maritime parts, and governed by men endowed with the best talents, and exercising a great influence over the multitude. The reduction of Georgia was, in truth, the only object which general Clinton had as yet proposed to himself. He had purposed to defer the invasion of Carolina until the arrival of the reinforcements which admiral Arbuthnot was to bring him from England. Nevertheless, considering the importance to the success of future operations of continuing offensive war, rather than halting upon the defensive, it was determined to make several excursions into Carolina, in order to keep alive in that province the terror of the royal arms, and to re-animate the hopes of the loyalists. Major-general Gardner was accordingly detached with a numerous corps, to take possession of Port-Royal. But this expedition had the most disastrous issue: the Carolinians fell vigorously upon the English, and expelled them from the island with severe loss, both in officers and soldiers.

On the failure of this project, the British generals endeavoured to excite a movement among the ad-

versaries of Congress. They inhabited, as we have related, in very considerable number, the back parts of Georgia and the two Carolinas. The hope placed in them was one of the principal causes that had occasioned the invasion of the southern provinces to be undertaken. Of these loyalists there were several sorts: some, more violent and rancorous, had not only abandoned their country, but had attached themselves to the Indians, in order to inflict all possible mischief on their fellow-citizens, in the incursions on the frontiers. Others lived solitary and wandering upon the extreme confines of the Carolinas, watching with the most eager attention for any favourable occasion that might offer itself, for the recovery of their settlements. Others, finally, either less bitter or more politic, continued to reside in the midst of the republicans, feigning an acquiescence in the will of the majority. Though they had quitted arms for the labours of agriculture, they were still always ready to resume them, whenever the possibility of a new change should become perceptible. In the meantime, they had recourse to artifice, and exerted their utmost diligence to keep their out-lawed friends advised of all that passed within the country, and especially of all the movements of the republicans: of this, the generals of the king were not ignorant.

In order, therefore, to encourage and support the loyalists, they moved up the Savannah as far as Augusta. As soon as they were in possession of that post, they left no means unattempted that could reanimate their partisans, and excite them to assemble in arms. They sent among them numerous emissaries, who exaggerated to them the might of the

royal forces. They assured them that if they would but unite, they would become incomparably superior to their enemies: they were prodigal of promises and presents; they exasperated minds already imbibed by flaming pictures of the cruelties committed by the republicans. Such were the opinions propagated by the British generals among the friends of the King. Their instigations produced the intended effect: the loyalists took arms, and putting themselves under the command of colonel Boyd, one of their chiefs, they descended along the western frontiers of Carolina in order to join the royal army. More properly robbers than soldiers, they continually deviated from their route, in order to indulge their passion for pillage. What they could neither consume nor carry off, they consigned to the flames. They had already passed the Savannah and were near the British posts, when they were encountered by colonel Pickins, who headed a strong detachment of Carolinians, levied in the district of Ninety-Six. Instantly, the action was engaged with all the fury excited by civil rancour, and all the desperation inspired by the fear of those evils which the vanquished would have to suffer at the hands of the victors. The battle lasted for a full hour. At length the loyalists were broken and completely routed. Boyd remained dead upon the field: all were dispersed, many fell into the power of the republicans. Seventy were condemned to death, only five, however, were executed. This success made a deep impression throughout Georgia, where the disaffected were already on the point of arming against the Congress. The incursions of the loyalists were repressed, and

the republicans could proceed with greater security in their preparations for defence against the royal arms. Another consequence of it was, that the English evacuated Augusta and, retiring lower down, concentrated their force in the environs of Savannah.

This measure was the more prudent on their part, as general Lincoln, to whom Congress had entrusted the command of all the troops in the southern provinces, was already arrived, and had encamped at Black-Swamp, on the left bank of the Savannah, at no great distance from Augusta. This general, born in Massachusetts, having distinguished himself in the campaigns of the north, had been proposed to the Congress by the Carolinians themselves, on their first receiving intelligence of the projects of the enemy against the southern provinces. The Congress had yielded the more readily to their recommendation, as they had themselves a high opinion of the talents of general Lincoln, and were not ignorant how essential it is to the success of operations, that soldiers should have perfect confidence in their chiefs. The President Lowndes employed all the means in his power to inflame the ardour of the inhabitants of South Carolina, and to excite them to take arms in defence of country. In private, as well as in public, he addressed them the most stimulating exhortations; he directed that all the cattle of the islands and towns situated upon the coast should be withdrawn into the interior of the country. The militia assembled and joined the continental troops. The same zeal for the public cause broke forth at the approach of danger in North Carolina: in a few days, two thousand of its militia were imbodyed under the generals Ashe and

Rutherford. If this corps could have been furnished with arms as promptly as the conjuncture required, it would have made its junction in time with that of general Howe, and perhaps might have decided in his favour the fortune of the day of Savannah. The enthusiasm of the Carolinian patriots was then at its height: every day added to the strength of their army. They had indeed great efforts to make. Washington was far from them, and before succours could arrive, they were exposed to the most fatal reverses. Moreover, the commander-in-chief was himself much occupied with the guard of the passes of the mountains, and his forces were continually mined by a pest which was still but imperfectly remedied; the shortness of engagements. It was not to be expected then, that he should strip himself in order to re-enforce the army of the south; yet more, the same intestine disease which enfeebled the army of Washington, was also the cause that little reliance could be placed in that of Lincoln, although it was already combined with the relics of the corps of Robert Howe. With the exception of six hundred continental troops, the rest were militia, little accustomed to war, and bound only to a few months of service. General Lincoln, however, not in the least discouraged, found resources even in his own ardour. In order at first to show himself to the enemy, he had repaired to Black-Swamp, on the north side of the Savannah. This movement, together with the recent discomfiture of the loyalists, had induced the British general to retire down the river, leaving, however, an advanced post at Hudsons-Ferry. But Lincoln extended his views farther: he purposed to restrict the enemy still

more, and to press him close upon the coast, in order to deprive him of the resources he would find in those fertile countries, and to put an end to the intercourse, whether open or secret, which he kept up with the loyalists of the upper parts. He accordingly ordered general Ashe to leave his baggage behind, and passing the Savannah, to take post on a little river called *Briar-Creek*. This order was executed with diligence, and the camp seated in a very strong position. It was covered in front by the creek, which for several miles above was too deep to be forded: on the left by the Savannah and a deep morass: the right was secured by a corps of cavalry. General Ashe had with him about two thousand men.

Notwithstanding the strength of his encampment, the English resolved to attack him. Colonel Prevost, who was posted at Hudsons-Ferry, set out on this expedition. Having divided his force in two columns, he advanced the right, with two pieces of cannon, towards *Briar-Creek*, with an apparent view of intending to pass it, in order to take up the attention of the republicans. The left, consisting of nine hundred men, among which were grenadiers, light infantry and horse, he led himself a circuitous march of about fifty miles, in order to cross *Briar-Creek*, and thereby turning the right, to fall unexpectedly upon the rear of the enemy. At the same time, general Prevost made such dispositions and movements on the borders of the river, between Savannah and Ebenezer, as were likely to divert general Lincoln from thinking of Ashe. This general, who, in such a proximity of the enemy, should have redoubled his watchfulness, instead of having the country scoured by his

cavalry, had detached it upon some distant and unprofitable expedition. The English, therefore, arrived so unexpectedly, though in open daylight, that the Americans received the first notice of danger from the havoc which the assailants made in their camp. The militia were panic struck, and fled without firing a shot. But many of them encountered in flight that death which they might have avoided by a gallant resistance. Their cowardice did not shield them; the deep marsh and the river, which should have afforded security, became now the instruments of their destruction. Blinded by their flight and terror, they were swallowed up in the one, or drowned in the other. The regular troops of Georgia and the Carolinas, commanded and animated by general Elbert, made a brave resistance: but, abandoned by the militia, and overwhelmed by number, they were also compelled to retreat. This rout of Briar-Creek, took place the third of March. The Americans lost seven pieces of cannon, all their arms and ammunition, with not a few killed and prisoners. The number of the drowned and wounded is not known; but it appears that more perished in the water than by wounds. Of all the corps of general Ashe, scarcely four hundred soldiers rejoined general Lincoln, who, in consequence of this disaster, found his forces diminished more than a fourth part. This victory rendered the royal troops again masters of all Georgia. It opened them communications with the loyalists in the back parts of this province and the two Carolinas. Those who were not yet recovered of the terror inspired by their recent defeat, took fresh courage: there

was nothing now to prevent their going to re-enforce the royal army.

The Carolinians, though deeply affected at so severe a check, were not, however, disheartened: and, in order to prevent the victorious enemy from overrunning their fertile territory, they made every exertion to assemble their militia, and to re-animate their ardour. Rigorous penalties were decreed against those who should refuse to march when called out, or to obey their commanders: high bounties were promised: regiments of horse were organized: the officers were chosen among the most leading men of the country. John Rutledge, a man of extensive influence, was elected governor of the province, and empowered to do whatever he should judge necessary to the public welfare. Animated by the love of country, and stimulated by the prospect of those evils which would be their portion if the English should gain possession of the province, the republicans displayed so much zeal and activity in their preparations for defence, that by the middle of April, general Lincoln found himself at the head of more than five thousand fighting men.

While these preparations were in process in the Carolinas, general Prevost busied himself in Georgia, in re-organizing all those parts of the service which had suffered by the war. He established an internal administration in the province, and strenuously urged the loyalists to rally around him. He did not immediately attempt to cross the Savannah, because it was extremely swoln by the rains: and, besides, he had not a sufficient force to attack lower Carolina, where

there were none but patriots; and general Lincoln, notwithstanding the rout of Briar-Creek, still maintained his position on the left bank, ready to oppose him, if he inclined to pass. Not however, that the American general was in a condition to act offensively before he was re-enforced; he might even have deemed himself extremely fortunate in not being attacked. But as soon as he found his force augmented, as we have just seen, he made a movement which provoked another of extreme importance on the part of his adversary. He marched, about the beginning of May, towards Augusta, whether to protect an assembly of the deputies of the province, which was to convene in that town, or for the purpose of taking a strong position in upper Georgia, in order to watch over the interests of the confederation in that part, and to interrupt the transmission of provisions and recruits which the loyalists furnished to the British. He was already arrived in Georgia, and all his measures were taken for the execution of his design. He had left general Moultrie, with fifteen hundred men, in front of general Prevost, in order to dispute his passage across the Savannah. He considered this corps the more sufficient for the defence of the left bank and the approaches of Charleston, the capital of South Carolina, inasmuch as the breadth of the river, the marshes which border it on the north side, and the numerous creeks which intersect that province, appeared to him obstacles capable by themselves of arresting the enemy.

But general Prevost saw his position in a different light. His army was increased by the junction of the loyalists. He hoped that his presence in Caro-

lina would excite some movements there; he wanted provisions, which he was sure of finding in abundance in that province; and lastly, he calculated that the effect of his invasion would be to recall Lincoln from Georgia, and perhaps to afford an opportunity of engaging him with advantage. Determined by these considerations, he put himself at the head of a corps of three thousand men, among English, loyalists and Indians, and passed the Savannah with its adjacent marshes, though not without excessive difficulties. The militia under Moultrie, surprised and dismayed at such intrepidity, gave way, and after a feeble resistance fell back upon Charleston. Moultrie, with the handful he had left, and the light horse of Pulaski, exerted his utmost efforts to retard the enemy; but he was soon compelled to yield to force. Astonished himself at the facility with which he had triumphed over the natural impediments of the country, and the resistance of the republicans, Prevost extended his views to objects of greater moment. The drift of his expedition was at first merely to forage: he was disposed to give it a nobler aim, and ventured to meditate an attack upon the important city of Charleston. He promised himself that it would soon fall into his power, when he should have acquired the control of the open country.

The loyalists, in the eagerness of their hopes and wishes, which they too frequently substituted for realities, failed not to improve this disposition, which was so favourable to them. They assured Prevost that they had correspondence with the principal inhabitants of the city, and that the moment the royal standard should be descried from its battlements,

their adherents would rise and throw open its gates. Moreover, they offered to serve as guides to the army, and to furnish all the information that could be desired respecting the nature of the country. Another consideration came to the support of their instances: though general Lincoln could not but know that the British had crossed the Savannah, and menaced the capital, yet he manifested no intention of moving to its relief; so fully was he persuaded that the royalists designed nothing more than to pillage the country. General Prevost, therefore, pursued his march towards Charleston in great security, hoping in the consternation at his sudden appearance to enter it without opposition. Meanwhile, when Lincoln was convinced by the continual approaches of the enemy of the reality of his designs, he immediately detached a body of infantry, mounted on horseback, for the greater expedition, to the defence of the capital, and collecting the militia of the upper country, returned with his whole force to act as circumstances might offer for its relief. The English had arrived at Ashley river, which bathes the walls of Charleston on the south; they passed it immediately, and took post within little more than cannon-shot of that city, between the river Ashley and another called the Cooper, which flows a little to the north of it. The Carolinians had made all the preparations for defence which the shortness of time admitted. They had burnt the suburbs, and cut a trench in the rear of the city from one river to the other. The fortifications had been repaired, and batteries erected upon all the chain of works which formed the cincture of the town. Governor Rutledge had arrived there

two days before, with five hundred militia, as well as colonel Harris, who had brought the succour sent by general Lincoln, after a forced march of more than forty miles at every stage. The count Pulaski was also come to re-enforce the garrison with the dragoons of his legion, which was called the *American Legion*. The presence of all these troops re-assured the inhabitants: they would have thought themselves fortunate in obtaining an honourable capitulation if this succour had not reached them, or if the English, instead of suspending their march, as they did, had made their appearance two days sooner. The garrison passed the whole night under arms; the houses, and the entire circuit of the walls, were illuminated. On the following morning, the British general summoned the town, offering very favourable conditions. The Americans sent out their commissioners to negotiate, and the conference was opened. But they neglected nothing that could draw it into length as soon as they discovered that the besiegers were not in force sufficient to carry the place before, in all probability, general Lincoln would arrive to its deliverance. Accordingly, they proposed that their province should remain neuter during the war: and that at the conclusion of peace, it should be decided whether Charleston was to belong to the United States or to Great Britain.

The English answered that their generals had not come there with legislative powers, and that since the garrison were armed, they must surrender prisoners of war. Other proposals were made on both sides, which were not accepted, and the English lost the whole day in this negotiation, which was not

broken off till in the evening. The inhabitants, expecting to be attacked during the night, made every preparation for a vigorous defence. Finding himself totally disappointed in every hope that had been held out to him relative to Charleston, general Prevost began to reflect that the ramparts were furnished with a formidable artillery, and flanked by a flotilla of armed shipping and galleys; that the garrison was even more numerous than his own army; that he had neither battering artillery, nor a naval force to co-operate with his land forces; that the van-guard of the army of Lincoln had already appeared, and that himself was fast approaching: and lastly, that if he were repulsed with any considerable loss, which was much to be apprehended, his situation, involved as he was in a labyrinth of rivers and creeks, surrounded on all sides by a superior enemy, seemed scarcely to admit of a hope that any part of his army could have been preserved. Under these considerations, he profited of the obscurity of night, and directed his retreat towards Georgia. But instead of taking the way of the land, which was too dangerous, he passed his troops into the islands of St. James and St. John, which lie to the southward of Charleston, and whose cultivation and fertility offered abundant resources. As from Charleston to Savannah there extends along the coast a continued succession of little contiguous islands, so separated from the continent as to afford both navigable channels and excellent harbours, Prevost could be at no loss about the means of repairing to the latter city.

His immediate design was to establish his camp in the island of Port-Royal, situated near the mouth of

the Savannah, and no less remarkable for its salubrity than fruitfulness. These quarters were the more desirable as the sickly and almost pestilential season already approached in the Carolinas and Georgia, and the British troops, not yet accustomed to the climate, were peculiarly exposed to its mortal influence.

While Prevost was engaged in passing his troops from one island to another, general Lincoln, who by the mainland had followed the movements of the enemy, thought it a proper opportunity to attack colonel Maitland, who with a corps of English, Hessians and Carolinian loyalists, was encamped at the pass of Stono-Ferry, on the inlet between the continent and the island of St. John: this post, besides its natural advantages, was well covered with redoubts, an abbattis, and artillery. The Americans attacked with vigour, but they found a no less obstinate resistance. At length, overwhelmed by the enemy's artillery, and unable with their field pieces to make any impression on his fortifications, they retired at the approach of a re-enforcement which came to the support of Maitland. The English, after establishing posts upon the most important points, proceeded to occupy their cantonments in the island of Port-Royal. The Americans returned, for the most part, into theirs; and the unhealthiness of the season put a stop to all further operations of either party. The English thus remained in peaceable possession of the whole province of Georgia; and the Americans found some consolation in having raised the siege of Charleston, though the vicinity of the enemy still left them in apprehension of a new invasion in South Carolina. The incursion of which this rich and flourishing

province had just been the theatre, so far from serving the interests of the king, was highly prejudicial to his cause. If it enriched his officers and soldiers, it caused the ruin of a great number of inhabitants. The royal troops were not satisfied with pillaging; they spared neither women, nor children, nor sick. Herein they had the negroes for spies and companions, who being very numerous in all the places they traversed, flocked upon their passage in the hope of obtaining liberty. To recommend themselves to the English, they put every thing to sack, and if their masters had concealed any valuable effects, they hastened to discover them to their insatiable spoilers. Such was the rapacity of these robbers, that not content with stripping houses of their richest furniture, and individuals of their most precious ornaments, they violated even the sanctuary of the dead, and, gasping for gold, went rummaging among the tombs.

Whatever they could not carry off they destroyed. How many delightful gardens were ravaged! What magnificent habitations were devoted to the flames! Every where ruins and ashes. The very cattle, whatever was their utility, found no quarter with these barbarians. Vain would be the attempt to paint the brutal fury of this lawless soldiery, and especially of those exasperated and ferocious Africans. But the heaviest loss which the planters of Carolina had to sustain, was that of these very slaves. Upwards of four thousand were taken from them: some were carried to the English islands, others perished of hunger in the woods, or by a pestilential disease which broke out among them soon after.

And here should be recollected the barbarous manifesto published by the British commissioners on quitting America, after the failure of their negotiations; their abominable threats were but too faithfully executed in Carolina. A cry of horror arose throughout the civilized world against the ferocity of the British armies. Such also was the disordered state of things to which Georgia, by various progressive steps, was at length reduced.

About the same time, general Clinton meditated, in his camp at New York, a project whose execution appeared to him to correspond with the views of the ministry, or, at least, proper to second the expedition of Carolina. He expected to ensure its success by keeping Virginia in continual alarm by cruel but useless devastations upon the coasts of that opulent province. Having assembled a suitable number of ships, under the command of commodore Collier, he embarked a corps of two thousand men, conducted by general Matthews. They proceeded to the Chesapeake, and leaving a sufficient force in Hampton-Road to block up that port and the entrance of the river James, went to take land on the banks of Elizabeth river. The British immediately pushed forward against the town of Portsmouth, and entered it without resistance. Fort Nelson was also abandoned to them at the first rumour of their approach. They found it equally easy to occupy the town, or rather the ruins of the town of Norfolk, on the opposite side of the river. Pursuing their march with the same celerity, they made themselves masters of Suffolk, on the right bank of the Nansemond river. In all these

places, as well as at Kempers-Landing, Shepherds, Gosport, Tanners-Creek, in a word, throughout the extent of territory into which they penetrated, their passage was marked by cruelty and devastation. They demolished the magazines, brought off or destroyed the provisions, and burned or took away an immense quantity of shipping. Several thousand barrels of salted provisions, which had been prepared for Washington's army, and a great quantity of stores, also fell into their power. Their booty in tobacco even surpassed their hope: in brief, this rich and fertile country was converted in a few days into one vast scene of smoking ruins. In their indignation, the Virginians sent to ask the English *what sort of war this was?* They answered: *that they were commanded to visit the same treatment upon all those who refused to obey the king.* Listening to the insinuations of the refugees, who incessantly affirmed that Virginia contained a host of loyalists, that were only waiting for a rallying point to raise the province in revolt, the British commanders were much inclined to prolong their stay in it; and thought of fortifying themselves in Portsmouth, in order to make it their place of arms. They wrote, accordingly, to general Clinton, demanding his orders. But Clinton, weary of this piratical war, and less eager than commodore Collier to swallow the brilliant delusions of the refugees, did not approve the plan proposed. On the contrary, he directed the chiefs of the expedition, after securing their prizes, to rejoin him at New York. He needed this force himself for an enterprise of no little importance, which he was upon the point of undertaking up the Hudson. Virginia,

therefore, ceased for that time to be the theatre of these barbarous depredations.

The Americans had constructed, at great labour and expense, very strong works at the posts of Verplanks-Neck, and Stony-Point, situated on nearly opposite points of land, the first on the east, and the other on the west side of the Hudson. They defended the much frequented pass called Kings-Ferry, which could not fall into the power of the English without compelling the Americans to take a circuit of ninety miles up the river in order to communicate between the northern and southern provinces. General Clinton had therefore resolved to seize these two positions. Washington, who lay with his army at Middle-Brook, was at too great a distance to interrupt the execution of the design.

The English, accordingly, set out upon this expedition about the last of May. Commodore Collier conducted the squadron that ascended the river, general Vaughan the column of the right, which landed on the eastern bank, a little below Verplanks, and Clinton in person, the column of the left, with which he disembarked on the western bank, below Stony-Point. The Americans, finding the enemy so near, and not being prepared to receive him, evacuated Stony-Point, where they were soon replaced by the royal troops. But at Verplanks there was more resistance: the republicans had erected on this point a small, but strong and complete work, which they called Fort la Fayette: this was defended by artillery and a small garrison. It was unfortunately commanded by the heights of Stony-Point, upon which the English, by their exertions during the

night, had planted a battery of heavy cannon, and another of mortars. Early on the following morning, they opened a tempest of fire upon Fort la Fayette. The attack was supported in front by commodore Collier, who advanced with his galleys and gun-boats within reach of the fort; and general Vaughan, having made a circuit through the hills, was at length arrived, and had closely invested it on the land side. The garrison, seeing that all possibility of relief was now cut off, and that their fire was totally overpowered and lost in the magnitude of that which they received, surrendered at discretion the following morning. They were treated humanely. General Clinton gave direction for completing the works of Stony-Point; and with a view to the ulterior operations of the campaign, encamped his army at Philipsburgh, about half way between Verplanks and the city of New York. But neither Clinton nor Washington were disposed to run the hazard of a battle: they both expected re-enforcements, the one from England, the other from the allies of the United States. Such was the cause of the inaction of the belligerent parties, during this campaign in the middle provinces.

In defect of conquests, the British generals were disposed, at least, to rid themselves of the privateers that tormented them, and to resume the war of devastation.

The coasts of Connecticut which border the sound, afforded shelter to a multitude of extremely enterprising privateersmen, who intercepted whatever made its appearance in their waters, to the utter destruction of the commerce of New York by the sound,

and consequently, to the infinite prejudice of the British fleet and army, which had been accustomed to draw the greater part of their provisions from that part. With a view of curing the evil, Clinton ordered governor Tryon to embark for Connecticut with a strong detachment. He accordingly proceeded to make a descent at New Haven, where he dislodged the militia, after some irregular resistance, and destroyed whatever he found in the port. Thence he advanced to Fairfield, which he devoted to the flames. Norwalk and Greenfield were in like manner laid in ashes. The loss of the Americans was prodigious; besides that of their houses and effects, a considerable number of ships, either finished or on the stocks, with a still greater of whale boats and small craft, with stores and merchandise to an immense amount, were all destroyed. Tryon, far from blushing at such shameful excesses, even boasted of them, insisting that he had thereby rendered important services to the king. Could he have thought that in a war against an entire people, it was rather his business to desolate than to conquer? And what other name can be given to ravages and conflagrations which conduce to no decisive result, but that of gratuitous enormities? But, if this mental obliquity, if this cruel frenzy in an individual, who was not a stranger to civilization, have but too many examples in the history of men, still, is it not astonishing, that he should have persuaded himself that by such means he could induce the Americans to replace themselves under the royal standard? It is worthy of remark, in effect, that in the midst of ravage and combustion he issued a proclamation, by which he ex-

horted the inhabitants to return to their ancient duty and allegiance. But whether this mode of operation was displeasing to Clinton, who perhaps had only desired the destruction of the shipping, and not that of houses and temples, or from whatever other more real motive, he ordered Tryon to cease hostilities, and to rejoin him immediately at New York. But the melancholy vestiges of the rage of the English were not effaced by his retreat, and these piratical invasions redoubled the abhorrence attached to their name.

While the coasts of Connecticut were thus desolated by the British arms, the Americans undertook an expedition which afforded a brilliant demonstration that, so far from wanting courage, they could vie in audacity with the most celebrated nations of Europe. The English had laboured with such industry in finishing the works at Stony-Point, that they had already reduced that rock to the condition of a real fortress. They had furnished it with a numerous and selected garrison. The stores were abundant, the defensive preparations formidable. These considerations could not, however, prevent Washington, who, on hearing of the capture of Stony-Point and Verplanks, had advanced and taken post on the brow of the mountains of the Hudson, from forming the design to surprise and attempt both those forts by assault. He charged general Wayne with the attack of Stony-Point, and general Howe with that of Verplanks. He provided the first with a strong detachment of the most enterprising and veteran infantry in all his army.

These troops set out on their expedition the fifteenth of July, and having accomplished their march

over high mountains, through deep morasses, difficult defiles, and roads exceedingly bad and narrow, arrived about eight o'clock in the evening within a mile of Stony-Point. General Wayne then halted to reconnoitre the works, and to observe the situation of the garrison. The English, however, did not perceive him. He formed his corps in two columns and put himself at the head of the right. It was preceded by a van-guard of an hundred and fifty picked men, commanded by that brave and adventurous Frenchman, lieutenant-colonel Fleury. This van-guard was itself guided by a forlorn hope of about twenty, led by lieutenant Gibbon. The column on the left, conducted by major Stewart, had a similar van-guard, also preceded by a forlorn hope under lieutenant Knox. These forlorn hopes, among other offices, were particularly intended to remove the abattis and other obstructions, which lay in the way of the succeeding troops. General Wayne directed both columns to march in order and silence, with unloaded muskets and fixed bayonets. At midnight they were arrived under the walls of the fort. The two columns attacked upon the flanks, while major Murfee engaged the attention of the garrison by a feint in their front. An unexpected obstacle presented itself: the deep morass which covered the works, was at this time overflowed by the tide. The English opened a most tremendous fire of musketry, and of cannon loaded with grape-shot; but neither the inundated morass, nor a double palisade, nor the bastioned ramparts, nor the storm of fire that was poured from them, could arrest the impetuosity of the Americans: they opened their way with the bayonet, prostrated

whatever opposed them, scaled the fort, and the two columns met in the centre of the works. General Wayne received a contusion in the head, by a musket ball, as he passed the last abattis: colonel Fleury struck with his own hand the royal standard that waved upon the walls. Of the forlorn hope of Gibbon, seventeen out of the twenty perished in the attack. The English lost upwards of six hundred men in killed and prisoners. The conquerors abstained from pillage and from all disorder: a conduct the more worthy to be commended, as they had still present in mind the ravages and butcheries which their enemies had so recently committed in Carolina, in Connecticut, and in Virginia. Humanity imparted new effulgence to the victory which valour had obtained.

The attack meditated against Verplanks, had not the same success: general Howe encountered insurmountable obstacles. Meanwhile, Clinton had received intelligence of the capture of Stony-Point: and, decided not to suffer the enemy to establish themselves in that position, he instantly detached a corps of cavalry and light infantry to dislodge them. But Washington had attained his object; he had originally intended nothing more than to make himself master of the artillery and stores of the fort, to destroy the works, and to bring off the garrison. It was absolutely inconsistent with his views to risk a general action to favour a partial operation, he therefore ordered general Wayne to retire; which he did successfully, after having dismantled the fortifications. This expedition, so glorious for the American arms, was celebrated with rapture in all parts of the confedera-

tion. The Congress decreed their acknowledgements to Washington and to Wayne, to Fleury, Stewart, Gibbon and Knox. They presented general Wayne with a medal of gold, which represented this brilliant achievement. Fleury and Stewart received a similar medal of silver. Not willing to leave the bravery of their soldiers without its retribution, they ordered an estimate of the military stores taken at Stony-Point, and the value thereof to be shared among them.

Rendered more daring and adventurous by the success of this enterprise, the republicans frequently harassed the outposts of the royal army. The continual skirmishes that followed were alternately advantageous or disastrous to the two parties. One of the most considerable was engaged at Paulus-Hook, on the right bank of the Hudson, opposite to New York: the Americans were treated rather roughly in it.

An expedition of much more importance took place on the river Penobscot, near the eastern confines of New England, on the side of Nova Scotia. Colonel Maclean had embarked from Halifax with a strong division of regulars, with a view of establishing a post, at the mouth of that river, in the county of Lincoln. On his arrival in the Penobscot, he took possession of an advantageous situation, and proceeded to fortify himself. From that position he purposed to annoy the eastern frontiers of the confederation; and by this diversion in Massachusetts, he hoped to prevent the inhabitants of that province from sending re-enforcements to the army of Washington. This movement occasioned an unusual alarm

at Boston, and it was determined to make all possible efforts to dislodge the enemy from a post which smoothed his way to more considerable enterprises. An armament was fitted out with extraordinary despatch: and in order to secure vessels of transport as well as sailors, an embargo of forty days was laid on all their shipping. The crews and the troops were assembled with equal promptitude, and all the preparations for the expedition were soon completed. The squadron was under the conduct of commodore Saltonstall, and the land troops were commanded by general Lovell. They sailed for the mouth of the Penobscot.

Colonel Maclean had received at first rumours, and afterwards undoubted intelligence of the preparations that were making at Boston. He employed all the means which the shortness of notice left at his disposal, to secure his defence. The republicans appeared; their first attempts to land, were rendered vain by the intrepid resistance of the royal troops; they redoubled their efforts, and at length succeeded in effecting that object. General Lovell, instead of attacking immediately, which would have ensured him victory, set about intrenching himself. The English resumed courage. There was a continual firing of artillery for fifteen days. Finally, the works which covered the position of the English being partly ruined, the Americans resolved to proceed to the assault. Colonel Maclean was informed of their design, and prepared himself to receive them.

In the morning he was under arms: but a profound silence prevailed in the camp of the besiegers: their stillness and immobility appeared inexplicable. The

colonel sent to reconnoitre, and he soon learns, to his extreme surprise, that the enemy's lines are totally evacuated, that he has not left even a guard, and that he has re-embarked his troops, arms and stores. The cause of so abrupt a resolution was not long in disclosing itself. Commodore Collier had suddenly made his appearance at the mouth of the Penobscot. He had been apprized of the critical situation of Maclean, and had immediately departed from Sandy-Hook, with a sufficient squadron. His manœuvres now indicated the design to attack the flotilla of Massachusetts: the republicans fell into confusion, and the royalists completed their discomfiture without difficulty. The vessels of war and of transport were all taken or blown up, to the incalculable detriment of the Bostonians, who had taken on themselves the whole burthen of this expedition. The soldiers and sailors, to escape the conqueror, were forced to penetrate the most dismal solitudes and pathless forests, where the extremes of hardship attended their retreat. Saltonstall and Lovell, but especially the first, became the object of public execration. They were everywhere loaded with the reproaches of stupidity and cowardice. The fatal issue of the enterprise of Penobscot, was calculated to teach the inhabitants of Massachusetts a truth, which it cost them much to learn, namely, that in confederate states, nothing is more imprudent than to operate partially. For, it appears that their leaders in this affair, far from concerting with the generals of Congress, did not even acquaint them with their designs. Thus, with the exception of the conquest of Georgia, the operations of this campaign were conducted with a sort of lan-

guor, and produced no results of any considerable importance. The month of July was, however, sufficiently remarkable for the terrible reprisals which the Americans, under the conduct of general Sullivan, exercised against the Indians. The expeditions undertaken against them the preceding year, by the colonels Butler and Clarke, had not completely satisfied the Congress: they were still animated with desire to exact an exemplary vengeance for the enormities of Wyoming. Moreover, they deemed it indispensably necessary to repress the incursions of these savages, who, rendered more daring by impunity, and excited by the presents of British emissaries, incessantly desolated the frontiers of the confederation. But by far the most formidable of all the Indian nations, were the Six Tribes, who derived a degree of power from the league contracted between them, from a scheme of polity more resembling that of civilized states, and, especially, from the great number of European adventurers who had established themselves among them, and had taught them to wield their arms, and to make war with more dexterity. Interlinked with these were other savage tribes of inferior note. The Oneidas, however, should be excepted, who observed a perfect neutrality towards the Congress. The American government, therefore, resolved a decisive stroke, to deliver itself forever from this cruel scourge, and at the same time to visit upon the heads of these barbarians the innocent blood of Wyoming. Circumstances appeared to favour the execution of this design, since the war, as we have already seen, was become strangely torpid in the maritime parts. Agreeably

to the plan of the expedition, general Sullivan, who was charged with its execution, proceeded up the Susquehanna, with a corps of about three thousand men, as far as Wyoming, where he waited the arrival of general James Clinton, who joined him from the banks of the Mohawk, at the head of sixteen hundred soldiers. He was followed by a great number of pioneers, sumpter-men, carters, and others species of workmen, to open the roads, transport provisions, and ravage the country. The stock of provisions was considerable, but not so abundant as general Sullivan could have wished. The army had to traverse an immense tract of country, where no supplies were to be expected. The horses were sufficient in number, and the artillery consisted of six field pieces with two howitzers. The two generals made their junction at Wyoming, the twenty-first of August. They immediately set out for the upper parts of the Susquehanna. Upon the rumour of their destination, the Indians had made all the preparations in their power, to avert from their country the impending perdition. Under the conduct of the same Johnson, Butler and Brandt, who have been mentioned in the preceding book, they had assembled in great number, and had been joined by two hundred and fifty loyalists. Full of confidence in their strength, they had advanced as far as Newtown, a village which lay upon the route of Sullivan. Here, while waiting his approach, they threw up a very extensive intrenchment, which they strengthened with a palisade, and some imperfect redoubts after the European manner. As soon as Sullivan arrived, he ordered the attack. The Indians defended themselves with great vigour

for more than two hours, though they had no artillery. To dislodge them more easily from their lines, the American commander ordered general Poor to draw off to the right, and turn their position. At sight of this movement, which had not slackened the attack in front, the Indians lost their courage, and fled in disorder. Few were killed, however, and none fell into the power of the victors. The Americans took possession of Newtown. The terror-struck savages made no other stand. Sullivan had therefore no further obstacle to contend with in overrunning their country, except the excessive difficulty of the ways, and the embarrassment of subsistence. His patience and dexterity triumphed over both. He guided his troops into the very heart of the settlements, whose inhabitants, men, women and children, had already escaped to the deserts, and buried themselves in the most inaccessible forests. The habitations were burned, the crops were ravaged, the fruit trees cut down. The officers charged with the execution of these devastations, were themselves ashamed of them; some even ventured to remonstrate that they were not accustomed to exercise the vocation of banditti. But Sullivan, being himself controlled by superior orders, was inexorable. His soldiers served him with ardour: the remembrance of Wyoming was fuel to their rage. They burned an immense quantity of grain.* They utterly destroyed forty villages, and left no single trace of vegetation upon the surface of the ground. All the cattle which had not been removed by the Indians, were brought off, or killed

* One hundred and sixty thousand bushels of corn were destroyed.

upon the spot. None of the bounties of nature, none of the products of human industry, escaped the fury of the Americans.

This expedition was not only remarkable for the rigour with which it was executed, but also for the light it threw upon the condition of these savage tribes. They were found more advanced in civilization than was believed, or even than could have been reasonably supposed. Their houses were placed in the most pleasant and healthy situations; they were roomy, neat, and not without a sort of elegance, so that little more could have been wished. Their fields, covered with luxuriant harvests, attested that the art of culture was not unknown to them. The antiquity and marvellous beauty of their fruit trees, with the number of their orchards, were incontestable indications that it was no little time since they were arrived at this degree of civil improvement. The sowing of grain and planting of trees being an incontrovertible proof that man looks forward to the future, it is manifest how erroneous was the opinion, which had hitherto been maintained, that the savages were totally devoid of providence. Their progress is to be attributed to the increase of their population, to their intercourse with Europeans, and particularly to the efforts of missionaries, who, in times past, and even perhaps at this epoch, had lived, or were living among them. The catastrophe of which they were now the victims, so filled them with consternation, that they never after made any remarkable movement. General Sullivan, having accomplished his mission, returned to Easton, in Pennsylvania. His officers and soldiers addressed him letters of thanks

and felicitation, which were also made public by means of the press, whether they did this of their own motion, or in compliance with the insinuations of Sullivan, who was rather a light man, and exceedingly vain withal. A short time after, alleging the derangement of health, he requested leave to resign, and obtained it easily: the members of Congress were weary of his continual ostentation, no less than of the habitual asperity of his language with respect to themselves.

Having related the events which took place upon the American continent, between the royalists and republicans, and between the latter and the savages, the order of this history requires that we should pass to the recital of the operations of the English and French in the West Indies, after the first had been re-enforced by the squadron of commodore Rawley, and the second by that of the count de Grasse. By the addition of these new forces, the strength of the hostile fleets was rendered nearly equal. The English were strongly desirous of a naval battle: but the count D'Estaing, being much superior in land forces to admiral Byron, had principally in view the conquest of the neighbouring English Islands. He declined a general engagement, which, if unsuccessful, would render his superiority by land of no avail. He therefore lay quietly at anchor in Fort Royal of Martinico, waiting a favourable occasion to attempt some enterprise of moment for the service of his sovereign. Fortune delayed not long to offer it, admiral Byron had sailed the sixth of June from St. Lucia, for the island of St. Christopher's, where the West India fleet of merchantmen

had assembled, to wait for convoy. His intention was to escort them with his whole squadron, for some considerable part of their voyage to Europe. He reflected that he could not leave a part of it in any of the ports of those islands, without exposing it to the attacks of an enemy greatly superior in force; he knew, besides, that M. de la Motte Piquet was then on his way from France with a strong re-enforcement to D'Estaing; and it was plain, that no ordinary convoy would have been sufficient for the protection of the British merchant-fleet, in case of its falling in with that squadron. No sooner was Byron departed from St. Lucia, than the French hastened to profit of his absence. D'Estaing detached the chevalier de St. Romain, with five ships and four hundred land-troops, between regulars and militia, to attack the island of St. Vincents. This officer fully answered the confidence of the Admiral: notwithstanding the currents which drifted him out of his course, and the loss of one ship, he at length effected his landing. He immediately occupied, sword in hand, the heights which command Kingston, the capital of the island. The Caribbs, or Aborigines, an intrepid and warlike race, came in multitude to join the assailants. Governor Morris, though he had more troops to defend himself than de Romain had to attack him, perhaps through fear of the Caribbs, whom the avarice and cruelty of the English had greatly exasperated, surrendered upon terms. The capitulation was honourable, and similar to that which the governor of Dominico had obtained, when that island fell into the power of the French.

In the meantime, the count D'Estaing was re-enforced by the arrival of the squadron commanded by M. de la Motte Piquet. His fleet now consisted of twenty-five sail of the line, among which were two of eighty guns and eleven of seventy-four.

This increase of force rendered him superior to Byron, who had only nineteen sail of the line, of which one of ninety guns, and eleven of seventy-four; the others of inferior rate. La Motte Piquet had also brought a re-enforcement of regular troops, with a copious supply of naval and military stores and provisions. The count D'Estaing, with such means at his disposal, was encouraged to extend the scale of his projects.

The conquest of Grenada was the immediate object of his enterprise. The natural strength of that island presented great difficulties: but its situation and products rendered it highly important. He had long thought of this expedition, but had chosen to defer its execution until he should become possessed of a superiority by sea. The junction of La Motte Piquet having therefore decided him, he sailed the thirtieth of June from Martinico, and the second of July came to anchor in the harbour of Molinier. He immediately landed twenty-three hundred men, for the most part Irish, in the service of France, under the conduct of colonel Dillon. They rapidly occupied the adjacent posts. The governor of the island was Lord Macartney, and its garrison consisted of two hundred regulars with six hundred militia. They were posted upon a height, called *Morne de L'Hopital*, which, besides, being naturally very steep, the English had rendered still more difficult of access by

rude walls of stone, erected from distance to distance up the ascent. They had also fortified its declivity with a strong palisade, and, above it, with three intrenchments, towering in gradation. This hill commands the town of St. George, the fortress and harbour. D'Estaing sent to summon Macartney. He answered, in truth he did not know the force of the French, but that he well knew his own, and was determined to defend himself. The French commander was not ignorant that the principal hope of success lay in the celerity of his operations. He was fully persuaded that, if he delayed his attack, he should be interrupted by the arrival of Byron, to the relief of the island. He, therefore, gave orders for the assault, without hesitation. The following night the French approached the hill, and by two o'clock in the morning they had invested it on every side. To divide the attention of the enemy, they were formed in three columns, the right commanded by the Viscount de Noailles, the left by Dillon, and that of the centre by the Count D'Estaing in person, who had intrepidly put himself at the head of the grenadiers. The artillery, not having cannon to serve, requested and were permitted to form the van. The action was commenced by a false attack at the foot of the hill, on the part of the river St. John. At this signal, the three columns, with great order and greater resolution, pressed up the hill to the assault. The besieged sustained their onset with much firmness, and for an instant the success appeared doubtful. The English even pretend to have repulsed the assailants. But animated by their chiefs, they returned to the charge with irresistible impetuosity. The soldiers sup-

ported and impelled one the other. Neither the palisades, nor the steepness of the acclivity, nor the parapets, nor the most violent fire could arrest the French: their victory was complete. D'Estaing, with his grenadiers, sprung the first into the English intrenchments. The others followed. In a moment all the works were inundated with enemies. The English demanded quarter, the French granted it. The darkness of the night had increased the horror of the combat, and even the glory of the victors. They seized eleven cannon, of different sizes, and six mortars. At break of day they turned this artillery against the fort, which was still in the power of the English. At the first discharge, Macartney sent a flag, with an offer to capitulate. D'Estaing granted him an hour and a half for framing his proposals; those, which at the end of this time he presented, were rejected. The French general then framed some terms himself, with which he required immediate compliance, without the smallest deviation on either side, or relaxation on his. But these were so unexampled and extraordinary, that Macartney and the inhabitants thought it better to abandon themselves, without any condition, to the discretion of the conquerors, than to accept them; and accordingly did so. If the French in this assault displayed a valour deserving of eternal memory, the moderation and humanity which they manifested after the victory, merit no inferior encomium. The capital was preserved from pillage, to which it was liable by the ordinary rules of war. The inhabitants were protected in their persons and properties. Dillon, in particular, distinguished himself by the generosity of his behaviour. The French

found in the fort an hundred pieces of cannon and sixteen mortars: they made seven hundred prisoners. They also seized thirty merchant vessels, with rich cargoes, that lay in the harbour. Their loss, in killed and wounded, amounted to little more than an hundred men.

The count D'Estaing had soon occasion to felicitate himself upon the promptitude with which he had prosecuted his enterprise of Grenada. For, on the sixth of July, Byron, with all his fleet, appeared in view of St. Georges-Harbour. It was accompanied by a great number of transports, filled with troops, drawn from St. Lucia. This admiral, after accompanying the homeward bound West India fleet till out of danger, and appointing them a convoy to see them safe home, had returned with eighteen ships of the line and one frigate to St. Lucia. On being apprized of the reduction of St. Vincent, he sailed immediately with a body of troops under general Grant for its recovery. They had not proceeded far, when they were informed that the count D'Estaing had attacked Grenada. On this intelligence they directly changed their course, and made the best of their way for its relief. The French admiral had been apprized, by the frigates he had sent out upon discovery, of the approach of the British fleet. He immediately ordered the captains of his ships to get under sail, and form their line well off the coast. Some had already obeyed, and the others were preparing to follow them, when the British armament came up, all sail out, and offered battle to the count D'Estaing. The winds blew from the east and east-north-east,

and were consequently favourable to a squadron coming from St. Lucia towards Grenada.

Upon sight of the British fleet, the French admiral ordered those ships which had not yet hoisted their anchors, to slip their cables and proceed to take their stations with the others in order of battle. But as the British approached with rapidity, these vessels placed themselves in the line wherever they could the soonest, without having regard to their ordinary posts. The English had the advantage of the wind, and were standing for Grenada, under the persuasion that Macartney still held out. Their transports were far astern of their rear. The French were under the wind, and standing upon the opposite tack. The British admiral was eager to come to close action, from a confidence that he could thus put the French fleet to rout and recover the island. On the other hand, the Count D'Estaing, who by the reduction of Grenada had attained his principal object, was in no disposition to hazard anew a point already decided. His intention was, therefore, to avoid a decisive engagement, and to confine himself to the preservation of his new acquisition. With these different views, the two admirals advanced to the encounter. Only fifteen of the French ships were able at first to take part in the action, the others having been forced to leeward by the violence of the currents. Vice-admiral Barrington, who commanded the British rear, advanced with three ships, the *Prince of Wales*, the *Boyne* and the *Sultan*, and closed with the van of the enemy. A warm engagement ensued, but the three English ships, not being supported in time by the rest of their division, and having to contend with a

much superior force, were extremely damaged, especially in their sails and rigging.

Such is the ordinary effect of the manner of firing of the French in naval battles: and in this, they levelled from a good distance and under the wind, which also contributed to raise their shot higher. Barrington was wounded. Meanwhile, the rest of the British squadron joined him: and, on his part, D'Estaing had rallied those of his ships which had not been able at first to form in a line with the fifteen that commenced the action. The English still continued to push their way towards Grenada, while their transports kept on their left towards the open sea, their line of battle covering them from the French fleet. The two armaments being thus drawn out on opposite tacks, the battle continued till they were entirely passed each other. But the English ships having arrived in chase, and consequently rather in disorder, whereas the French, as later from port and in better condition, had more command of their movements, and had kept their distances better, it followed that some of the first had to endure the whole weight of fire from many or from all of the second. Among those that suffered the most were the Grafton, the Cornwall, and the Lion. The last was so shattered as to be very near going to the bottom; and the Monmouth, having ventured singly to arrest the progress of the French van, in order to bring on a close action, had been left little better than a wreck. Meanwhile, the head of the British van, continuing its course, was arrived at the mouth of St. Georges-Harbour. But the French colours that waved on the fort, and the fire of the batteries, no longer permitted admiral Byron

to doubt of the capture of the island. Convinced, that in the present state of his fleet, he could not hope for success against so great a superiority of force, he directed captain Barker, who had charge of the transports, to alter his course and make the best of his way to Antigua or St. Christophers. In order to protect him from the pursuit of the enemy, he stood with his fleet to the northward. But the three ships, the Grafton, Cornwall and Lion, from their disabled condition, not only remained far astern, but fell so fast to the leeward that it was to be feared they would be cut off by the French. The Count D'Estaing, having observed their situation, had in effect put his ships about and steered to the south, in order to effect what Byron apprehended, that is, to intercept them. But, to defeat this design, the British admiral instantly changed his tack, and steered again to the southward. While the hostile fleets thus manœuvred in sight of each other, the Lion bore away, with what sail she had left, to the west, and in a few days arrived at Jamaica. D'Estaing might easily have seized her; but he chose not to disperse his fleet, for fear of falling to leeward of Grenada, whither it was his intent to return for moorings. The Grafton and Cornwall found means to rejoin their admiral before the French could reach them. The Monmouth, no longer able to keep the sea, was sent with all despatch to Antigua. The two fleets continued in sight the one of the other, till night, the English still plying to windward, in order to cover the retreat of the transports. The inferiority of their force, and the condition of their ships, deterred them from renewing the engagement. The French re-

mained to leeward without attempting to disquiet them, whether by reason of this position, or because their admiral thought it imprudent to run new risks. He might claim a victory for what he had already achieved, and he had probably motives for avoiding decisive actions. The following morning he came to anchor in the road of St. Georges, amidst the acclamations of the soldiers and of the French inhabitants, who had been spectators of the action. The British transports, one only excepted, which fell into the hands of the enemy, all arrived in safety at St. Christophers. Admiral Byron, after remaining a few days longer at sea, repaired to the same island, for the purpose of refitting his ships, which were grievously damaged.

The British lost in this engagement one hundred and eighty-three killed, and three hundred and forty-six wounded. The loss of the French was more considerable, owing as well to the mode of firing of the English, as to the great number both of sailors and land forces with which their ships were crowded. Besides many officers of note, they had about two hundred men killed, and the number of their wounded amounted to nearly eight hundred.

The news of the battle of Grenada was welcomed in France with great demonstrations of joy. According to the usage observed on occasion of important victories, the king wrote to the archbishop of Paris, directing that a *Te Deum* should be sung in the metropolitan church. The Count D'Estaing pretended, in effect, to have been victorious: he alleged in his favour that he had kept his lights burning during all the night subsequent to the engagement: that

Byron had for several hours refused to renew it, though all the while he had the advantage of the wind: that the British had made no movement to preserve the *Lion*, when retiring with difficulty towards the west: that the French fleet had captured one of the enemy's ships, conquered Grenada, and baffled the project of Byron for its recovery; and, finally, that it had secured the empire of the sea in the West Indies. It is indeed true, that the British admiral, in consequence of the disabled condition of his fleet, had found it necessary to take shelter at St. Christophers, where he was decided to remain until the enemy should become weaker, or himself stronger. His retreat spread consternation among the inhabitants of all the British islands, who had not for a long time, nor perhaps ever before, seen the French masters at sea. A short time after the action, D'Estaing, having repaired his ships, set sail afresh, and paraded with his whole force in sight of St. Christophers. Byron lay safely moored in the harbour of Basse-Terre: the French admiral sought in vain to draw him out to combat. Finding him obstinate in his immobility, he shaped his course for St. Domingo, where he assembled the merchantmen of the different islands, and despatched them for Europe, under convoy of three ships of the line and three frigates.

In this state of things, there being much of the season for operations still unexpired, the count D'Estaing deliberated upon the course to be pursued, with most advantage to the interests of his sovereign. But in the meantime, he received letters from America, advising him of the extreme dissatisfaction with which

the republicans observed that the alliance with France had hitherto produced nothing, upon the American continent, that corresponded either to the greatness of their ally, or to the general expectation of the Americans. It was represented to the French admiral that the enormous expenses incurred in the expedition of Rhode Island, had been worse than fruitless: that the zeal with which the French fleet had been equipped and victualled by the Bostonians, had produced no better effect than its immediate desertion of their coasts upon distant expeditions: that the benefits of the alliance were a nullity for the Americans, since the loss of Savannah and of all Georgia, which had resulted from the retirement of the French, was not compensated by the recovery of Philadelphia, even throwing that event into the scale, as an indirect consequence of their co-operation, and supposing that the American arms would not otherwise have compelled the British to abandon that capital: that the occupation of Georgia by the enemy was fraught with consequences still more alarming, since it opened him an easy entrance into the Carolinas: that he was already established in the heart of America, and drew his sustenance thence; that meanwhile, the French commanders were cruising the West Indian seas, enriching themselves with the conquest of British possessions, and leaving the Americans to sustain by themselves the whole burthen of this desperate war: that it ought not, therefore, to be wondered at, if the number of the discontented increased every day in proportion to the rapid diminution of the partisans of France. These complaints were concluded with the

most earnest instances and obsecrations that he would not abandon a faithful ally in the midst of surrounding perils.

The count D'Estaing could not but listen to these representations, although he had received instructions from his court, to return immediately to Europe with the twelve ships of the line and four frigates which composed the fleet of Toulon. He was directed by the same instructions, to detach three sail of the line and two frigates, under the conduct of La Motte Piquet, for the station of St. Domingo, and to leave eight other ships of the line to winter at Martinico, under the command of the count de Grasse, who was to co-operate with the marquis de Bouille, for the reduction of other English islands. Such were then the intentions of the French ministers; their negotiations with the court of Spain were in full activity, and they wished the Americans to feel all their distress, in order to obtain in the treaty they were about forming with his catholic majesty, more favourable stipulations for each member of the family compact. But D'Estaing thought it better to obey the generous impulses of his heart, than the orders of the ministry. To deprive the Americans of all pretext for doubting the sincerity of his good dispositions towards them, he set sail with twenty-two sail of the line and eight frigates. He had two objects in contemplation, both of the highest importance; but he could come to no decision until he had first advised with the generals of Congress. The first was the destruction of the force under general Prevost, and thus freeing the province of Georgia from the presence of the English, and South Carolina from the

danger of their vicinity. The second was more decisive, and likely to be attended with more difficulties: and that was, to attack, conjointly with Washington, the British force at New York, by sea and land at the same time. The success of these two enterprises would have sufficed to put an end to the war upon the American continent.

It was on the first of September that the count D'Estaing made his appearance upon the coasts of Georgia, with twenty ships of the line. He had detached two to Charleston of South Carolina to give notice of his arrival in those waters. It was totally unexpected to the English: their ship, the *Experiment*, of fifty guns, commanded by captain Wallace, was obliged, after a stubborn resistance, to surrender to the French. Three British frigates shared the like fate, as well as five transports loaded with provisions. This prize was highly acceptable to the victors, who were much in want of supplies. General Prevost was then at Savannah, with only a part of his troops: the remainder were still in their cantonments, on the island of Port Royal, near the coasts of Carolina. At sight of so pressing a danger, he sent orders by express to colonel Maitland, who commanded in that island, to rejoin him with all possible celerity. He likewise recalled the detachment that occupied Sunbury. The vessels at anchor in the Savannah were removed higher up, to secure them from the fire of the enemy, or sunk to obstruct his passage. Other impediments for the same purpose were planted in the river. The British also destroyed the batteries they had erected in the island of Tybee, and compelled the blacks to work without intermission at the forti-

fications. The seamen, who had been put ashore, joined the land troops, and were especially employed for the service of the artillery.

The news of D'Estaing's arrival excited transports of exultation at Charleston. General Lincoln immediately commenced his march for Savannah at the head of a strong detachment. A great number of small craft were despatched to the French admiral, to facilitate the debarkation of troops upon the coast, which large vessels cannot approach very near. With the assistance of these light vessels, D'Estaing, who had anchored off the bar which lies at the mouth of the Savannah, was enabled to land his troops at Beaulieu, about thirteen miles from the town of Savannah. At the same time, his frigates were occupied in taking possession of the lower river, and of the different inlets; approaching as near to the town and lines as the circumstances of water and defence would admit. On the fifteenth of September, the French appeared under the walls of Savannah. They were accompanied by Pulaski's legion, who had made a forced march to join them. After some slight skirmishes, general Prevost contracted all his posts within the cover of the artillery on the works. Colonel Maitland not being yet arrived, the garrison, far from being sufficient for acting offensively, were scarcely competent to the defence of the works.

D'Estaing imperiously summoned Prevost to surrender the place; he announced in high language that he commanded the same troops, a detachment of whom had recently taken the Hospital-Hill, in Grenada, by storm; that he owed it to his humanity to remind him of it, after which, it could not be imputed

to him, if he should not be able to restrain the fury of his soldiers, in the event of a fruitless resistance. The Americans observed with extreme displeasure and jealousy that the summons was made exclusively in the name of the king of France.

General Prevost reflecting that his re-enforcements had not yet joined him, and that his lines were still in a very imperfect state of defence, thought it prudent to gain all the time that was possible, by pretending a willingness to negotiate a capitulation. He accordingly answered the French admiral, that he neither could nor should surrender without being first made acquainted with the conditions, and that he begged him to be more explicit on that head. Messages passed backwards and forwards; and at length, so shrewd was Prevost and so simple or so confident was D'Estaing, that a truce of twenty-four hours was agreed upon, to afford time for deliberation. During this interval, colonel Maitland arrived with the troops from Port Royal, after having surmounted a variety of obstructions, and made his way through almost impassable swamps and morasses. On the junction of this re-enforcement, upon which depended, in truth, the principal hope of defence, Prevost gave the French admiral to understand, that he should hold out to the last. Two days before, however, general Lincoln had joined the camp of the besiegers with about three thousand men, among regular troops and militia. The French amounted to between four and five thousand. The garrison, including sailors and loyalists, consisted of about three thousand men: the French established their quarters to the right, and the Americans to the left

of the place. After the refusal of the British commander to surrender upon the first summons, the Allies could not expect that a mere assault should triumph over a formidable garrison, intrenched behind works which they strengthened every day. It was, therefore, resolved to commence a regular siege. The trenches were opened immediately, and were carried on with so much vigour that by the twenty-fourth of September, a sap had been pushed to within three hundred yards of the abattis, on the left flank of the town. The besieged were active in their endeavours to interrupt the works; but their efforts were ineffectual. Finally, the trenches being completed, and the batteries armed, the bombardment commenced in the night of the third of October: the fire became still more violent at day-break on the morning of the fourth, when thirty-seven pieces of cannon and nine mortars were unmasked; while sixteen other pieces of cannon enfiladed the works from the shipping. To increase the terror, the besiegers lanced carcasses into the town, which burned several houses. Five entire days of this tempestuous fire caused infinite mischief to the town, but made little impression upon the fortifications, which the besieged repaired with diligence, wherever they were at all damaged. It even seemed, that amidst the storm of balls and bombs, they daily acquired new strength and solidity. The garrison, and such of the inhabitants as joined the troops in defending the ramparts, received little injury. But the fate of the women, children and unarmed multitude, was indeed worthy of pity. Their lives were continually threatened by the fall of their burning roofs. Many perished, others, more unfor-

fortunate, were miserably crippled. Touched by their distress, general Prevost wrote to D'Estaing, requesting permission that they should be sent aboard ships down the river, and placed under the protection of a French ship of war, in which state they were to continue until the business of the siege should be decided. At the same time, acquainting him that his own wife and family should be among the first to profit of the indulgence. The anticipation of such a request was more to have been expected from a generous enemy than its refusal; since the reduction of the place depended on force, and not on famine. But the French admiral, whether he acted of himself or at the instigation of general Lincoln, who, like all the inhabitants of Massachusetts, carried the spirit of party to the extreme, after a delay of three hours, returned a haughty answer to this demand. He objected that Prevost had deceived him by the truce, and that his present proposition very probably concealed a new artifice. He suspected him of intending by this stratagem to cover the rich spoils of Carolina. He assured him, finally, that he sincerely lamented the unhappy condition of the individuals for whom he petitioned, but that general Prevost must impute it wholly to himself, and those illusions which had darkened his understanding.

Whatever was the ability of the British engineers, and especially that of captain Moncrieffe, who rendered eminent services in this siege; whatever was the valour with which the garrison defended the breaches, incessantly repaired by their exertions, the British general could have had little hope of holding out long, and still less of a successful defence, if the ene-

my had persevered in his gradual approaches. But D'Estaing experienced great difficulties. Far from expecting to encounter so obstinate a resistance under the walls of Savannah, he had calculated with such confidence on a prompt surrender that he had come to anchor with his fleet of heavy capital ships, upon an inhospitable coast, and in a most critical season of the year. He had even signified to the Americans that he could not remain on shore more than eight or ten days. Twenty were already elapsed since the siege had commenced, and still there appeared no immediate prospect of its termination. The season was growing worse every day, and the naval officers were continually representing to their admiral the perils to which he would expose the ships and troops of the king, if he persisted any longer in the prosecution of this expedition. It might also happen that a British fleet would arrive with every advantage united, and force the French squadron to engage at a moment when a part of its crews and artillery were thus employed in the siege of Savannah. Under these considerations, although the trenches were not yet carried to the requisite perfection, and though no considerable breach had been opened, the Count D'Estaing resolved to attempt the assault. Necessity now urged him to this extreme counsel, after having delayed to embrace it when at his landing he had found the works not yet completed, and the garrison not yet re-enforced by colonel Maitland.

He consulted with general Lincoln upon the plan of attack: it was determined to direct it against the right flank of the place. On this side, a swampy hollow-way might bring the besiegers under cover to

within fifty yards of some of the principal works, and, at some points still nearer.

The ninth of October, before day, the Count D'Estaing and general Lincoln, having formed the flower of both armies in three columns, advanced by the hollow-way to reconnoitre the point of attack. But through the darkness, they took a greater circuit to the left, and got deeper in the bog than they needed or intended to have done; a circumstance which, besides the loss of time, could scarcely fail of producing some disorder in the columns. They, however, soon formed anew, approached the foot of the walls, and mounted to the assault with incredible spirit and audacity. It is said, that the English had notice of it the preceding evening, and that they were, consequently, prepared. It is certain, at least, that they defended themselves with a vigour not inferior to that which assailed them. A redoubt on the Ebenezer road became the scene of the most terrible conflict. But every where the same courage was displayed, and no where could it be conjectured which of the parties victory was disposed to crown. D'Estaing and Lincoln were at the head of their columns, exposed to the most violent fire. Prevost, Maitland and Moncrieffe, displayed an equal ardour: they continually stimulated their soldiers to repulse from their walls, to exterminate these rebels to the king, and those inveterate enemies of the British name. The combat was supported for above an hour with the same fury. But little by little the assailants became exhausted by their efforts. They were excessively galled by the artillery, which Moncrieffe had disposed with extreme dexterity, and which assailed them in almost

every direction with a deluge of balls and grape-shot. The violence of the attack abated, and the besieged hailed the moment in which they saw their safety in their own hands. They made a vigorous sally: a corps of grenadiers and marines was at the head of the column which, in a few instants, swept the ramparts and ditches. Not content with this first success, and hurried on by their impetuosity, the English pursued their enemies, and drove them in the greatest confusion through the abattis into the hollow we have mentioned. This movement was executed with such rapidity, that the re-enforcements which Prevost had pushed forward could not arrive in time to take part in it. Nor should it be omitted that in the height of the assault, the Count Pulaski, at the head of two hundred light horse, charging at full speed, attempted to penetrate into the town, in order to assail the British in rear. But he received a mortal wound: his troop, on seeing him fall, were discouraged and fell back.

When the fog and smoke were dissipated, which had darkened the air during the combat, horrible was the spectacle that discovered itself. Heaps of dead and dying covered the ground, and particularly near the Ebenezer redoubt: streams of blood rilled from the wrecks: lamentable cries arose on every side. The Allies requested a truce with leave to bury the dead, and carry off the wounded; the first was granted, but a restriction laid in point of distance as to the rest. The assault of Savannah cost the Allies a great sacrifice of men. The loss of the French in killed and wounded amounted to upwards of seven hundred; more than forty of whom were

officers. Among the wounded were D'Estaing himself, the Viscounts de Fontange and de Bethizy, and the Baron de Steding. The Americans lost in slain and wounded about four hundred. The loss on the British side, as they fought secure, was inconsiderable. Great civilities now passed between the French camp and the British lines, and many apologies were made for the answer returned general Prevost with respect to the women and children. They were now pressed to place themselves in the situation which they had then requested: the Chimera, commanded by the Chevalier de St. Romain, was named for the reception of the general's wife, her children and company. Prevost answered with a certain bluntness, that what had been once refused, and that in terms of insult, could not in any circumstance be deemed worth the acceptance.

A few days after died the Count Pulaski, a Pole of illustrious birth. Finding no opportunity in his own country to employ his sword in the defence of liberty, of which he was one of the most zealous partisans, he took the generous resolution to repair to the succour of the cause he adored in America. If he lost life there, he also left a name revered by all the brave. It is related, that when his death was announced to the king of Poland, he exclaimed: "Pulaski! always valiant, but always foe to kings." It cannot be denied that king Stanislaus had good reason to complain of him. The Congress decreed him a monument.

The eighteenth of October, the allied army raised the siege of Savannah: its retreat was effected so precipitately that it was impossible for the English

to pursue it. General Lincoln passed his regular troops to the left bank of the Savannah, the militia disbanded. The French re-embarked with all their troops, artillery and stores. The Count D'Estaing immediately set sail to clear the coasts of America. His intention was to return to Europe with a part of his fleet, and to send the remainder to the West Indies; but a violent storm dispersed his ships, and he had great difficulty in getting them together again.

Such was the issue of the Count D'Estaing's campaign upon the coasts of North America, of that campaign in which the Allies had placed such sanguine hopes. After missing the expedition of the Delaware, he twice abandoned that of Newport at the moment for its accomplishment. Finally, under the walls of Savannah, he showed himself at first too circumspect; he delayed the attack, and afterwards precipitated an assault which resulted in discomfiture. He conquered, it is true, two important islands in the West Indies, and fought with no little glory a veteran British fleet, commanded by the most able seamen. D'Estaing was no less precipitate in counsel than impetuous in execution. If fortune, as the friend of the adventurous, had shown herself more propitious to his efforts, or to the excellent plans which had been framed for him by the French ministry, he would indubitably have given paralyzing strokes to the naval power of England; he would have afforded America all that assistance on which she had founded her hope of promptly terminating the war.

It must be admitted, however, that if the co-operation of the French admiral was not so advantageous to the Americans as they might reasonably have ex-

pected, it was, nevertheless, far from being without its utility. His presence was a check upon the English, and prevented them from moving so soon as they purposed to have done against the southern provinces. Moreover, the British ministers fearing not only for Rhode Island, but even for New York, if their troops continued dispersedly to occupy both these provinces, besides other positions, ordered general Clinton to evacuate the first. He accordingly did so, the twenty-fifth of October, and withdrew the garrison to New York. Thus Rhode Island, which had fallen without resistance into the hands of the royalists, returned peaceably into the power of the republicans. As the fleet of the Count D'Estaing was then upon the coasts of Georgia, the British generals, under the apprehension of its coming suddenly upon Rhode Island, made their retreat from Newport with so much precipitation, that they left behind them all their heavy artillery, and a considerable quantity of stores. The Americans took possession of them immediately. They kept the British colours floating on the ramparts for several days: this stratagem decoyed into their power many of the king's vessels, which came to surrender themselves at Newport.

Having related the military operations of this campaign, as well on the American continent, as in the West Indies, it is not without interest to cast a glance upon the affairs of the interior, and to examine what was, at this epoch, the state of the finances, what were the opinions and the intrigues of the different parties which agitated a people embarked in the tumultuous career of revolution. If the union of the

arms of France with those of the Congress had procured real advantages to the Americans, and if it authorized them to hope well of the future, it cannot be denied, on the other hand, that it had a prejudicial effect upon their public spirit. This powerful protection itself, with the hopes which were its immediate and necessary result, easily persuaded the colonists that their quarrel approached its decision, that England would soon have to yield, and that in the mean time they might take their ease till the moment of deliverance should arrive. This same cause, which should have excited their emulation towards their great ally, and stimulated them to concur with fresh ardour to the common aim, seemed, on the contrary, to have abated their courage. They were impatient to enjoy that repose during the continuance of danger which they ought not to have desired until they had fully attained their intent. Amidst the brilliant images of approaching felicity with which their glowing imaginations continually regaled them, they forgot to reflect that success might still elude them while in the act of grasping it. France, on seeing their torpor, might have changed her counsels: had she not in their indolence, a plausible pretext and a new motive for a policy which never hesitates to serve itself at the sacrifice of its allies? Was it not possible even that Spain, whose accession was ardently desired as the pledge of victory, might refuse to combat for a cause so frigidly supported by its own defenders? The Americans seemed not to recollect, that, if formidable armies hasten the final decision of wars, they only also can render the conditions of peace honourable. All these considerations

were in a manner slighted by the bulk of the nation. Content with what they had hitherto done, and placing great reliance in the efficacy of French succours, they seemed inclined to leave to their allies the care of settling their quarrel. The indifference which had infected all classes, was as profound as the enthusiasm of former years had been intense. There could not have existed a more sinister augury; experience demonstrates that though it be but too easy to inflame a people the first time, nothing is more difficult than to rekindle its ardour when once extinct. The leading Americans, and Washington in particular, were too enlightened not to take alarm at this state of things: they saw the evil in all its extent, and spared no exertions in applying such remedies as they could. They had recourse to exhortations, to the remembrance of past exploits; they represented the necessity of not forfeiting the respect of the allies; the perils that still impended; the power and the intrigues of England; all was in vain. Imbosomed in apathy, these reckless spirits abandoned to chance the decision of their dearest interests; nothing could rouse them. The recruiting of the army progressed with the most tedious slowness. The soldiers that were under Washington, some because they had completed their engagements, others because they were tired of serving, deserted their colours, and retired to their homes. And by what means were they to be replaced? Scarcely a few individuals were found who would engage according to the regulations of Congress, for three years or till the end of the war. Engagements for a shorter term, could be of no utility to the service, and the backwardness of the people

warranted no calculation even upon that resource. To draw them by lot, and constrain them to march, was thought, and was, in fact, too dangerous a measure to be adopted in the present temper of minds. The same lethargy seemed to have overspread the army itself. It was well for it, that the English were so little enterprising.

Such was the real origin of the languor that characterized all the operations of this year's campaign. Washington, besides, adhering to his uniform purpose of never coming to action, except with every probability of success, would not commit to the hazard of battles the fate of a cause, *which he considered as already gained*. Far from challenging the enemy, he deemed himself extremely fortunate in not being attacked. If events had taken the direction they should have done, he would doubtless have found some opportunity to strike an important blow for the service and glory of his country. Perhaps the English would not have passed the year so tranquilly as they did in New York; and perhaps Rhode Island would have fallen less tardily under the domination of America.

The royal troops, in effect, had been much weakened in the first months of the year, by the detachments they were obliged to make to the West Indies and Georgia. But it almost always happens that the most propitious occasions are lost amidst the tumult of popular revolutions; wherein the government, as being new, shows itself the more feeble, as the opinions of individuals manifest themselves with less restraint, and greater violence; and public opinion, which can only originate from a settled order of

things, as yet, has no basis. If sometimes success attend the enterprise, it must more frequently be imputed to chance than to calculation. Such was, at this epoch, the condition of the people of America. If in Georgia and Carolina some efforts were made to repel the enemy, it was principally the work of the militia of these two provinces, whose interest was then immediately at stake. The others folded their arms, or contented themselves with the adoption of spiritless measures. As if they considered themselves released from the ties of the confederation, they made not their own cause of the danger that menaced the neighbouring provinces. Nor were the Americans chargeable only with lukewarmness, and this strange indifference to the fate of country; there also began to prevail amongst them a shameless thirst of gain, an unbridled desire of riches, no matter by what means acquired. The most illicit, the most disgraceful ways, were no let to this devouring passion. As it happens but too often in political revolutions, there had sprung up a race of men who sought to make their private advantage of the public distress. Dependence or independence, liberty or no liberty, were all one to them, provided they could fatten on the substance of the state. While good citizens were wasting themselves in camps, or in the discharge of the most arduous functions; while they were devoting to their country, their time, their estates, their very existence, these insatiable robbers were plundering, and sharing out, without a blush, the public fortune, and private fortunes. All private contracts became the object of their usurious interference and nefarious gains; all army supplies en-

riched them with peculations; and the state often paid dearly for what it never obtained. Nor let any imagine that the most sincere and virtuous friends of their country ever made so pompous a parade of their zeal! To hear these vile beings, they only were animated with a genuine and glowing patriotism. Every citizen of eminent rank, or invested with any public authority whatever, who refused to connive at their rapines was immediately denounced as lukewarm, tory, royalist, sold to England: it would seem that the first duty of those who governed the republic in times of such distress, was to fill the coffers of these flaming patriots. That their own praises should always have hung upon their lips is not to be wondered at; for there has never existed a robber, who had not been first a cheat; but what seems really strange, and almost staggers belief, is that they could have found partisans and dupes. This public pest spread wider every day; it had already gangrened the very heart of the state. The good were silenced, the corrupt plumed themselves upon their effrontery; every thing presaged an approaching ruin; it was the hope of England. Shall we attempt to penetrate the causes of so great a change, in a nation once so distinguished for the purity of its manners?

It will be found, that besides the general relaxation, which war too generally produces in the morals of the people, new governments, destitute of money, are constrained to procure it, and all their resources at the hands of usurers. The example is contagious: it rapidly obtains throughout the community. These same governments find themselves compelled by the force of circumstances to give the preference and

yield much to individuals who adhere, or pretend to adhere to their party. They accept for security in the most important transactions, a zeal for the public good, whether real or feigned. If it is necessary that they should welcome such sort of beings when they present themselves, they must, for the same reason, be tender in punishing when they detect them in delinquency. Briefly, in such an order of things, the man of worth, must, of necessity, make room for the man of naught. Not only unpunished, but tolerated, but employed, but encouraged, the species rapidly multiplies. Like pestilential bodies, whose bare contact infects those that are sound, vice soon poisons honesty in the hearts it can steal upon.

But one of the first and most operative causes of so deplorable a change in American morality, unquestionably lay in the depreciation of paper money. It was such at the commencement of this year, that eight dollars in bills could only command one in specie. The fall of this paper was daily accelerated, as well from the continual emissions by the Congress, as by the little efficacy of the French succours, and the disasters of Georgia. In the month of December, a dollar in specie could hardly be obtained with forty of paper.* Nor is there any thing surprising in this, when it is considered that independent of the dubious stability of the state, there was in the month of September, the sum of one hundred and fifty-nine millions, nine hundred and forty-eight thousand, eight hundred and eighty-two dollars of the paper of Congress in the thirteen United States. If to this mass

* The cost of a simple repast, or a pair of shoes, was from forty to fifty dollars of this depreciated paper.

be added the bills emitted by the particular provinces, it will readily be seen how immeasurably the aggregate amount of this sort of debt surpassed the resources of the new republic. The rapid declension of this currency is further accounted for by the extreme activity with which the loyalists and English employed themselves in counterfeiting it. There often arrived from England entire chests of those spurious bills, and so perfectly imitated that they were scarcely to be distinguished from the genuine. The British generals, and especially Clinton, though in reluctant obedience to the orders of the ministry, spared no pains in disseminating them throughout the continent. It cannot be doubted, but that the cabinet of St. James's considered this falsification of the bills of credit, as a most efficacious mean for the recovery of its colonies. The British ministers were perfectly aware that it was the only pecuniary resource at the disposal of Congress for the support of the war, and they calculated by draining it to disarm the Americans. Unquestionably it was neither the first time nor the last that this mode of making war has been resorted to; but it will always, nevertheless, be held in abhorrence by all good men. For public faith should always be respected even between enemies: and of all perfidies is there one more frightful, and especially more vile than the falsification of money? In addition to all this, the commerce which the Americans had been wont to carry on by means of their products, with England and other nations, was totally interrupted: and as their soil and industry furnished them with but a small part of the articles essential to war, they were under the necessity of procuring

them from abroad, and with gold and silver. Hence it resulted that specie, which even before the war had become distressingly scarce, diminished progressively, and daily advanced in price, in the ratio of its rarity. The bills proportionably lost their value in public estimation. From their alarming depreciation it followed not only that all purses were closed, and that the markets, barely and with extreme difficulty supplied, became the object of the continual murmurs of the people, but even that the faith of contracts was violated, and that individual probity was every where relaxed. With little debtors acquitted themselves of much towards their creditors. Very few, at first, resorted to this unworthy expedient; but as evil propagates itself more rapidly than good, a multitude of citizens stained themselves with the same reproach, and the contagion became general. Herein the faithless and avaricious debtor was no respecter of persons: Washington himself experienced this odious return from persons he had generously succoured in their necessities.

The distress of the times had likewise given birth to another race of men, who devoted themselves to the business of speculating upon the depreciation of bills, dexterously profiting of a temporary rise or fall: and these variations of current price depended much less on the more or less favourable posture of public affairs, than upon news invented and circulated by those jobbers, or their intrigues and monopolies. Useful arts, and the labours of a fair commerce, were abandoned for the more alluring chances of paper negotiations. The basest of men enriched themselves: the most estimable sunk into indigence. The

finances of the state, the fortunes of individuals, experienced the same confusion. Nor was avarice the extent of the evil: the contagion of that pestiferous passion attacked the very source of every virtue. Private interest every where carried it against the interest of the public. A greater number than it is easy to believe, looked upon the love of country as a mere illusion, which held out no better prospect than ruin and desolation. Nobody would enlist without exorbitant bounty; nobody would contract to furnish the public supplies, none would supply the contractors, without enormous profits first lodged in their hands; none would accept of an office or magistracy without perfect assurance of a scandalous salary and illicit perquisites. The disorder, the depravation, were pushed to such a point, that perhaps never was the ancient adage more deplorably confirmed, that *there is no halting-place on the road of corruption.*

To the insatiable thirst of gold was joined the rage of party spirit: even the members of Congress could not escape its vortex. Hence they too often disputed between themselves about their personal affairs, instead of discussing the grave and important interests of the state. When a feeble nation places itself under the patronage of one that is powerful, and looks up to it for protection, that nation must expect to find its bosom agitated by the tumults of party and the fury of faction. Some citizens, more taken up with their country's interests, or their own ambition than the necessity of maintaining a good understanding with the more powerful nation, depart from the route which policy would have prescribed. Unguarded in their language and actions, they are con-

tinually liable to give umbrage to the agents of their great ally. Others, guided by the love of their country, or by their private interest, show themselves more feeble: they yield without resistance, they flatter and caress. Each of these parties is equally in error. The first pluming themselves in vain upon the name of Independents, cannot in all respects assume the manners it implies, when they have an indispensable need of a tutelary support. The second omit to reflect that their excessive condescendence does but imbolden their ally to crave without measure as without end. To observe a just medium between these extremes, requires a consummate prudence. The latter class are, of course, by far the most agreeable to the agents of the guardian power: they find them docile instruments, and, if, as too often happens, assailable on the side of avarice, or ambition, prompt to serve as spies, as informers, as tools whose base devotion no longer knows a check. The contrast and rivalry of these two factions soon degenerate into open war. The one reproaches the other with sacrificing the state to their cupidity, with betraying it, selling it to their protectors; with no longer having a country save that of their new masters; they load them with contempt and execration. These answer their adversaries that an ill-timed arrogance may deprive the state of an indispensable prop; that it will be time enough to put on airs of independence when it is actually achieved; that in all their discussions wise men, and especially statesmen describe a curve, when a right line leads to a precipice; that affairs of state should not be swayed by the self-love of individuals; that in policy

the most useful is always the most honourable; and, finally, that no one ought to blush when he attains the object of his aim. Such was the language of the more moderate among those called Dependents. But others, hurried away by the spirit of party, or wishing to disguise their baseness, exclaimed aloud that the Independents were the enemies of France; that they were friends of England; with her they kept up a traitorous correspondence; to her they betrayed the secrets of the state; that they would fain violate the faith of treaties, and dissolve the alliance solemnly concluded with the French, in order to listen to the proposals of England, and throw themselves into her arms. It is to be observed, in effect, that at this very epoch, the British ministers were labouring incessantly to seduce the chiefs of the American government with new offers of peace, even at the acknowledgement of independence. The scope of this conduct might have been to excite the jealousy of France, or to foment factions in America, or perhaps really to obtain peace and alliance with the United States.

However it was, these overtures had in part the effect which the British cabinet probably had expected; they were but too well seconded by a species of men who find their proper element in confusion; and intestine dissensions agitated every part of the American continent. Not private citizens only, but the very members of the government, devoted themselves with infinitely more ardour to pull each other to pieces, than to the discharge of their duties. These seeds of discord had long been germinating, they developed themselves with still greater rapidity, when Silas Deane returned to the United States aboard the

squadron of the count D'Estaing. At first commercial agent of America in Europe, he had been one of the three commissioners who had signed the treaty of alliance at Paris. Secretly irritated at having been recalled, impatient to turn accuser before being accused himself, and careful to make his court to the French, he declared every where, and afterwards printed, that the Congress would not hear the report of his mission to Paris; that they refused to adjust his accounts; that Arthur Lee, one of the three commissioners, William Lee, American consul in Europe, and their two brothers, members of Congress, kept up a secret correspondence with England; that they, and all their adherents, endeavoured in various ways to disgust the court of France, and especially in opposing the reimbursement to particular Frenchmen of sums which they had expended at the commencement of the war in the purchase of arms and military stores for account of America. That they were now intriguing to displace Franklin as they had before attempted to pull down Washington; that, in a word, they had conspired to change men and things and to give another direction to the policy of the state. The writing which Deane published and distributed with profusion, in the month of December 1778, produced a vehement stir; the spirit of party eagerly seized this new subject of discord and of hatred. The brothers Lee answered with moderation; but Thomas Paine and William Drayton stepped forward to avenge them roundly. They retorted upon Deane, that the Congress not only consented to hear him, but that they had already heard him, and had notified him that they were ready to give him audience

anew; that if they had not passed his accounts, it was for want of verifications, Deane having himself, either through forgetfulness or design, left them behind in France; that if Arthur Lee kept up a correspondence with England, he was sufficiently authorized in it by his character of Ambassador: that during his residence at Paris, he had addressed the Congress letters incomparably more able, luminous and fraught with intelligence than those of his calumniator, who had never written a word of any solidity; that the friendship of a power so generous as France, could be better preserved by an erect and noble deportment, than by a servile adulation towards its agents; that if the reimbursement of those Frenchmen who had furnished arms and munitions had not been yet effected, it was because that Deane himself, in concert with the other commissioners of Congress, had written that no payment was to be made for these supplies, which were to be considered as the voluntary gifts of zealous friends of America; that no thought had ever been entertained of recalling Franklin, because it was perfectly well known how much the advices furnished by that estimable man, as well as the contracts he had made in France, differed from every thing in the correspondence and operations of Silas Deane; that neither was it forgotten what difference of manners and pretensions existed between those Frenchmen who had treated with Franklin for an engagement in the American service, and those whom Deane had sent out to America; that no one could better judge than himself whether the facts recapitulated were likely to redound to his honour; that, as for the rest, it little became Deane to call up the intrigues,

real or supposed, of which Washington had been the object, since himself, when he resided at Paris as agent for the Congress, had suggested for serious deliberation, whether it would not be advantageous to confide the supreme command of the American troops to one of the most distinguished generals of Europe, as for example, to Prince Ferdinand, or Mareschal de Broglie; that it was right and proper to keep the faith pledged to France, but that it was right and proper also, agreeably to the usage of all states, to hear the propositions, and to receive the overtures, which promised to promote the welfare of the country, from whatever quarter they might come.

The tenour of the paragraphs published by Paine and Drayton, was far from being agreeable to Gerard, the minister of France: he noticed with pain the avowal of negotiations kept up with England, and the declaration of a refusal to liquidate the disbursements made by his countrymen. He addressed very energetic complaints to the Congress: in order to appease him, that assembly declared that they disapproved the contents of the published memorials, and that they were convinced that the supplies furnished by certain French individuals, could not be considered as a gift. The Congress had, in truth, been made debtor for them in the accounts presented; whether the intention of those who furnished them had never been to offer them as a mere donative, or that Deane had made them the object of a sordid speculation. Opinions were then much divided on that point. The Congress, moreover, renewed the declaration that the United States would never conclude either peace or truce with Great Britain, without the formal

and previous consent of their august ally. Thomas Paine requested and obtained leave to resign the office he filled, of secretary of Congress for the foreign department. The government either was, or pretended to be dissatisfied with him, for the disclosure he had made, in this discussion, of facts which it would rather have kept still under the veil.

So many elements of discord would perhaps have sufficed to kindle civil war in America, if its inhabitants had been less familiarized with liberty. Their attention was, besides, taken up by two important objects: one was the imminent peril to which the two Carolinas were exposed a short time after, in consequence of the siege of Charleston by Sir Henry Clinton; the other, the negotiations opened with Spain, and, soon afterwards, the active part she took in the war. The court of Madrid, as we have already seen, glowed with desire to interfere in the grand quarrel which had just broken out. Besides the mutual hatred which animated the English and Spanish nations, Spain had also in view to humble the odious British arrogance, to recover Gibraltar and Jamaica, and to conquer the *two Floridas, which appeared to her essential to the entire command of the Gulf of Mexico*. She was now also stimulated by France, who, not content with representing to her the common interest she had in this war, pressed her and summoned her every day to fulfil the stipulations of the family compact. Meanwhile, particular considerations pointed her to a more circumspect procedure. American independence could scarcely seem to smile upon her entirely, when she reflected on the contagion of example, and her own colonies. Her backwardness to

declare herself was also perhaps concerted with France, in order to obtain better conditions from the Americans. The court of Versailles had regretted to find itself constrained to take a decisive step, after the unexpected victory of general Gates, which had started the apprehension that England would consent, for the sake of reconciliation with her colonies, to acknowledge their independence. France would much rather have persisted in her original plan, and stood aloof still for a long time, waiting for the Americans to be reduced to the last extremity, in order to wring from them more advantageous conditions for her, than those of the two treaties of commerce and alliance. But the success of the Americans having baffled her designs, she still reserved to herself the faculty of making them pay a round price for the accession of Spain. With this drift, she magnified excessively the advantages they might expect from it, in order to extort from their impatience, what precipitation had defeated her of at the time of her own declaration. The ultimate object of all these manœuvres, was to secure to the subjects of France, in the future treaty of peace, the fisheries of Newfoundland, to the exclusion of the citizens of the United States; and to Spain, the possession of the two Floridas, the exclusive navigation of the Mississippi, with the sovereignty of the regions situated on the left bank of that river, and behind the frontiers of the confederate provinces. Accordingly, to prove to the Americans how strong an interest he took in their cause, and to Europe, according to usage, his ardent desire to preserve peace, the king of Spain offered his mediation. He considered it, moreover, as a justi-

ficative measure of the war he was about to undertake, for he was by no means ignorant that England would not accept it. The court of London knew too well that Spain, united to France by the strictest ties, could not be an impartial mediatrix: it knew also, that mediators of this description always finish with becoming declared enemies. The court of Madrid intending also to establish, as the basis of the negotiation for peace, that Great Britain should treat her colonies as independent, it was not presumable that she would accept a condition which was precisely the principal point in contest. Nevertheless, the Marquis D'Almodovar, his catholic majesty's ambassador, presented to the court of London a plan of accommodation, which contained, besides the article above, those which follow: That, in order the more easily to extinguish the flames of war, the crowns of France and of Great Britain should lay down arms and consent to a general truce; that their respective plenipotentiaries should convene at a place agreed upon, for the purpose of adjusting their differences; that Great Britain should grant a like truce to the American colonies; that a line of boundary should be drawn, which neither of the belligerent parties might transcend during the armistice: that both his Britannic majesty and the colonies should send one or more commissioners to the city of Madrid, in order to consent to the preceding conditions, and all such others as might tend to conciliation. To this offer of mediation the British ministers made only evasive and dilatory answers. If they were not disposed to accept it, since it involved the acknowledgement of independence, they avoided also to reject it too os-

tensibly, as well not to excite the discontent of their nation, as to gain time to open negotiations with the courts of Europe. Their intention was to offer advantageous conditions to France, in order to detach her from America, and to America, in order to detach her from France. And, in case, as they presumed, these negotiations should fail of success, they purposed to use strenuous endeavours with the other powers, in order to excite some movement in Europe against France. They hoped thus to find her so much employment on shore that she would be obliged to neglect her marine, and that it would of course become an easy task to vanquish it. They conceived also, that when America should see her ally engaged in a new struggle, she would show herself more disposed to enter into an arrangement with England. Such was then the policy of the powers at war, and of those that were inclined to take part therein.

Meanwhile, France and Spain, with a view of obtaining from America the conditions which, since her separation from England, were the main scope of their counsels, notified to the Congress, through M. Gerard, the French minister at Philadelphia, the offer of mediation made to the court of London by that of Madrid. He was directed to observe, that the object of all mediation being peace, it was natural to presume that conferences were about to be opened for its negotiation and conclusion. He invited the Congress to appoint plenipotentiaries to take part in these negotiations, whether with England or with Spain; he also urged the expediency of their making known the basis on which they were disposed to treat. He added, that he felt it his duty to intimate

that circumstances did not permit the United States to carry their pretensions higher than their fortune; that, consequently, it was desirable that they should be moderate in their demands in order not to furnish England with a pretext for standing out, and that Spain might be enabled to prosecute her mediation to a successful conclusion. "As to the acknowledgement of American independence, continued the French minister, it is to be expected that Great Britain, out of that pride which sovereigns have, and which it becomes them to have, will manifest an extreme repugnance to making it in form. This case has been provided for in the treaty of alliance, where it is stipulated that its object is to obtain for the United States independence, whether express or implied. France knows by her own experience, what it costs monarchs to proclaim in formal terms the independence of those they have once governed as subjects. Spain, in preceding ages, did but tacitly acknowledge the independence of Holland, after a war of thirty years, and not formally till after a resistance of seventy. Up to this very time, the republic of Geneva and the thirteen Swiss Cantons, have not as yet been able to obtain from the states of which they made part, an express acknowledgement of their independence and sovereignty. As for the rest, since you enjoy the object of your wishes, you ought to attach very little importance to mere words." It is to be remarked, that the French minister affected to be much in earnest in his efforts to bring over the Americans to this way of thinking, because he was convinced that they would not adopt it; and that therefore to induce France and Spain to exact on their

behalf an express acknowledgement of independence, they would acquiesce in whatever demands they might choose to make.

In order to confirm them the more in the refusal of what he demanded, he took care to remind them that the United States appeared to him, from their situation and the vigour of their resistance, to have higher claims than ever Holland, Geneva, and Switzerland could have made any pretensions to. Fearing, however, the insufficiency of these means to decide the Americans to yield the desired concessions, he proceeded to suggest that not only was it necessary to enable the mediator by the moderation of their demands to inspire England with pacific dispositions, but that it was moreover expedient to offer the mediator such advantages as might determine him to make common cause with France and America, in case Great Britain should refuse peace. He extolled the power of the triple alliance that was meditated, and represented it as the guarantee of certain triumph. He set forth that though the arms of France and America were indeed capable of resisting those of the enemy, the junction of the forces of Spain could alone render them preponderant, and prevent the catastrophe which might result from a single sinister event; that hitherto the scale had been equal between the two parties, but that a new weight was necessary to make it turn in favour of the Americans. The French minister closed this declaration with a disclosure of the pretensions of his court with respect to the fishery of New-Foundland, and those of Spain relative to the two Floridas, the Mississippi and the western territory which now forms the state of Ken-

tucky. The Congress deliberated upon these communications. They considered, on the one hand, that the intervention of Spain was very desirable for America; but on the other, that she held it at too high a rate. They consequently felt the utmost repugnance to subscribe to all the concessions which the courts of Versailles and Madrid appeared disposed to wrest from them. Very warm debates ensued upon these different points. All the members consented to guaranty to Spain the possession of the two Floridas, but all also refused to grant her the exclusive navigation of the Mississippi; the relinquishment of the western territory was objected to by many, and that of the New-Foundland fishery almost universally, especially on the part of the New England deputies. Beside this extreme diversity of opinions, a powerful motive prevented the Americans from taking any definitive resolution; they had penetrated, that such was the eagerness of the Spaniards to come to blows with the English, that in any event, it could not be long before a rupture must take place between the two nations. In effect, the Congress consumed so much time in answering, in appointing plenipotentiaries and in preparing their instructions, that hostilities were already commenced between these powers, not only in Europe, but also in America.

By the beginning of August, Don Bernard Galvez, governor of Louisiana, for the king of Spain, had undertaken with success an expedition against the British possessions upon the Mississippi. This news, and still much more, the certain intelligence that the same Don Galvez had solemnly pro-

claimed the independence of the United States at New Orleans, caused the Americans to drop at once all further thought of concession. Notwithstanding the hostilities now commenced between Spain and England, the French minister persisted in maintaining that England manifested pacific dispositions, and that the cabinets of Versailles and Madrid were more than ever animated by the same sentiments. But enlightened by what passed before their eyes, the Americans instructed their plenipotentiary at the court of France, as also the one destined to treat with that of London, to keep steadily in view that the first object of the defensive war waged by the Allies, was to establish the independence of the United States; that consequently the preliminary basis of all negotiation with Great Britain must be the acknowledgement of the freedom, independence and sovereignty of the said states, which acknowledgement must be secured and guarantied according to the form and stipulations of the treaty of alliance with his most Christian majesty. As to the right of fishery upon the banks of New-Foundland, the Americans insisted that it should be preserved to them, with the clause that if they were disquieted by England in its exercise, France should consider it as case of alliance. They further enjoined their plenipotentiaries to use all possible exertions to obtain from England the cession of Canada and Nova-Scotia, in favour of the United States, observing, however, that the rejection of this proposition should not be an obstacle to the re-establishment of peace. The idea of this last demand had been suggested by the deputies of Massachusetts and other provinces of New Eng-

land. The plenipotentiaries were authorized to agree to a suspension of arms during the continuance of the negotiations, with the reservation, however, that the ally of the United States should likewise consent to it, and that the troops of the enemy should entirely evacuate their territory. Such was the substance of the instructions given to the American plenipotentiaries; as to the rest, they were to be guided by their own wisdom, the laws of the confederation, and the counsels of the court of France.

The war being already actually commenced between Spain and England, the Chevalier de la Luzerne, who succeeded M. Gerard at Philadelphia, could no longer urge with the Congress, the advantages and necessity of the co-operation of the Spanish force, as a motive for their yielding the above mentioned concessions. But he did not omit to place in the strongest light all the benefits which would result to the United States from connecting themselves with the Court of Madrid by treaties of commerce and alliance, which should regulate their common and respective interests, whether present or future.

“ It is evident, he said, that Spain will display more vigorous efforts against England, when she knows the advantage that is to accrue to herself from a war undertaken chiefly for the utility and interests of the United States. On the other hand, it is no less manifest, how extremely it interests the honour and consolidation of the republic to have its independence formally acknowledged by so great and powerful a monarch as his catholic majesty, and to be united to him by treaties of amity and alliance. An alliance, he added, than which nothing could more

gratify his most christian majesty, who, united to the king of Spain by the most sacred ties, and to America by the bonds of the tenderest friendship, could not but desire with ardour to see the most complete and durable harmony established between them." The French minister expatiated largely upon this subject, adding still other arguments drawn from public law.

All his efforts were vain. The Congress saw too clearly that if Spain took part in the war, it was neither out of regard for the interests, nor for the independence of America, which in the present state of things was no longer a matter of doubt, but for her own sake, and particularly to reduce the maritime power of England. Accordingly, they showed themselves little disposed to make new sacrifices. Wishing, however, to testify their desire to form alliance with the king of Spain, they appointed John Jay their minister plenipotentiary to the court of Madrid. His instructions were to endeavour to dispose that court to be satisfied with a mere treaty of amity and commerce with the United States. He was, moreover, directed to declare, that if his catholic majesty entered into the league against Great Britain, the United States would consent that he should secure for himself the possession of the Floridas; and even, if England gave her consent to it in the treaty of peace, the United States would guaranty him this new acquisition with the condition that they should continue to enjoy the navigation of the Mississippi to the sea. As to the territory situated on the eastern bank of the river, they declared that it could not be renounced. The minister of Congress was likewise to solicit the

king of France, as the chief of the alliance, to employ his mediation in order to accelerate the conclusion of the treaties with Spain. He was charged with some other demands at the court of Madrid. But piqued at the refusal of Congress to consent to the stipulations which she had most at heart, Spain not only demonstrated on her part a disposition equally unyielding, but after having declared war against Great Britain, she would neither acknowledge the independence of the United States, nor receive nor send ambassadors. At the same time in which Jay was appointed plenipotentiary to the court of Madrid, John Adams was elected minister plenipotentiary to negotiate a treaty of peace and commerce with England.

Such was, then, the situation of affairs in America. In Europe they took the direction which had been foreseen by all prudent men, and which was desired even by those who pretended a wish to attain an opposite object. Spain had completed her maritime armaments; she was arrived at the point where she had purposed to drop the mask. She wanted to take an open part in the war; and, joining her forces with those of France, to level such rapid blows at the excessive naval power of England, as should transfer to the Bourbons the sceptre of the sea. She would fain have a plausible pretext to justify her conduct. She accordingly resolved to renew her offers of mediation at the court of London, and to urge the British government in such a manner, that it should at length be constrained to declare itself the first. The Marquis d'Almodovar, the Spanish minister at London, made, in the month of June, the most pressing in-

stances to the British ministry, in order to extort a definitive answer. The moment seemed the better chosen, as it was already known that the Count D'Orvilliers had sailed from Brest with the whole French armament, and was standing to the south in order to join, near the isle of Cizarga, with the Spanish fleet, which lay, in excellent condition, expecting him in those waters. The two allied courts felt yet more confirmed in their resolution, when they saw the English marine in no situation to balance their united forces. Whether from absolute necessity, or from negligence on the part of ministers, it is certain that the armaments of England at this epoch were very far inferior to her dangers. She answered, nevertheless, that she could not admit the condition of independence, even with the modifications proposed by Spain. The Spanish minister then departed from London, after having delivered a declaration to Lord Weymouth, secretary of state. This rescript recapitulated, beside the rejection of the mediation, several other motives of war, such as insults offered at sea to the Spanish flag, hostile incursions upon the lands of the king, instigations to the savages to infest the Spanish subjects of Louisiana, the violation of the rights of his catholic majesty in the bay of Honduras, and other like grievances. The court of London answered by a counter declaration, in which it endeavoured, as usual, to destroy all the assertions of that of Madrid. The king of England recalled Lord Grantham, his ambassador in Spain. He afterwards issued a proclamation of reprisals on that power, and another regulating the distribution of prizes. At the same time France, as the preponderant and leading part of the

alliance, published a manifesto in which she laid before the eyes of Europe, the motives which had constrained the two allied courts to take up arms.

These motives, detailed at great length, may be reduced to the following points: The necessity of avenging injuries received, and the desire, certainly sincere, to put down the tyrannical empire which England had usurped, and pretended to maintain upon the ocean. The king of Spain likewise published different official papers. Two royal cédulas demonstrated to the nation the necessity and justice of the war. They were followed by a very lengthy manifesto, which advanced an hundred causes of rupture with Great Britain; the greater part had been already announced in the declaration of the Marquis D'Almodovar. It was added in this, and represented as a direct outrage, that at the very time when the British ministers rejected the propositions openly made by Spain, as mediatrix, they had employed secret agents to make the most alluring offers to the court of France if she would abandon the colonies and conclude a separate peace with England. "At the same epoch," said the manifesto, "the British cabinet had clandestinely despatched another agent to Doctor Franklin at Paris. Divers propositions were made to that minister, in order to detach the Americans from France, and bring them to an arrangement with Great Britain. The British government offers them conditions not only similar to those it has disdained and rejected when they proceeded from the part of his catholic majesty, but much more favourable still." The first wrongs specified, that is, the insults on the Spanish flag, the hos-

tile incursions upon the king's territory, and the unjust decrees of courts of admiralty, might have obtained a sufficient reparation, if the two parties had been at that time less animated with enmity one against the other. As to the reproach of duplicity imputed to the British ministers with respect to their conduct during the discussions of the mediation, if the historian cannot positively applaud them, he will find at least that it is difficult to blame them for it, and still more so to see in it a sufficient ground of war. In effect, these political wiles, far from being new or extraordinary, are but too frequent; all statesmen, and especially those who employ them, consider them as means, if not honourable, at least allowable for attaining their ends. But, as we have already observed, the primary and capital motive, to which all the others did little more than serve as a veil, was the wish to destroy the maritime superiority of England. The king of Spain even made the avowal of it, herein also imitating the candour of the king of France. He formally declared in his manifesto, that in order to obtain a durable peace, it was necessary to set bounds to the immoderate power of England by sea, and to demonstrate the falsity of those principles upon which she founded her usurpation. He concluded with observing, that the other maritime powers, and all the nations of the universe, were interested in the triumph of so equitable a cause. This argument was no doubt as just as it was noble; but it would have been more honourable still, if the tyrannical domination of England, about which so much noise was then made, had not been, not only peaceably tolerated for a long series of years, but

even formally acknowledged. The king of Great Britain replied with another manifesto, wherein no little address was displayed in refuting the assertions of the two kings, his enemies. It closed with the most energetic, but the most ordinary protestations of his regard for humanity. Since these pompous declamations have been brought into use between the governments of civilized nations, is it found that wars are become less frequent, or less destructive?

While the two belligerent parties were endeavouring to justify their conduct in the sight of the universe, while each of the kings was protesting that he had not been the first disturber of peace, the fleets of France and Spain presented themselves with formidable parade upon the coasts of Great Britain. They consisted of sixty-six ships of the line, comprehending a Spaniard of one hundred and fourteen guns, the *San Trinidad*, two Frenchmen of one hundred and ten, and one hundred and four, the *Bretagne* and the *Ville de Paris*, eight others of eighty, and fifteen of seventy-four; the rest of less force. This immense armada was followed by a cloud of frigates, corvettes, cutters, and fire ships. It was commanded in chief by the Count D'Orvilliers, who mounted the *Bretagne*: the van-guard was under the conduct of the Count De Guichen, and the rear under the conduct of Don Gaston. The van-guard was itself preceded by a light squadron commanded by M. de la Touche-Treville, and composed of five swift-sailing ships, and all the frigates which were not attached to the first divisions. The object of this squadron was to discover and announce whatever should appear at sea. Finally, the armament was followed by

another squadron of observation, composed of sixteen ships of the line, at the orders of Don Lewis de Cordova. The design of the allies was, according to appearances, to make a descent upon that part of the coasts of Great Britain which they should find the most conveniently accessible. Every thing seemed to conspire in their favour; even the importance of the enterprise, the immensity of their forces, the defenceless condition of Ireland, the inferiority of the British marine, the weakness of the regular troops that remained for the defence of England, since the greater part had been sent to America and the West Indies. Beside this fleet, one of the most tremendous which the ocean had ever borne, three hundred transports were prepared at Havre de Grace, St. Malo, and other ports on that coast. All was in movement in the northern provinces of France. Upwards of forty thousand men lined the coasts of Normandy and Brittany; many other regiments were on the march to join them from other parts of the kingdom. The king appointed the generals who were to conduct the expedition. The troops who were already assembled upon the coasts that looked towards England, daily exercised themselves in the various manœuvres of embarkation and debarkation. Each soldier manifested the most eager desire to set foot on the opposite shore, in order to combat and prostrate an ancient rival. An artillery as numerous as well served, was attached to this army: five thousand grenadiers, the flower of the French troops, had been drawn from all the regiments, to form the vanguard and strike the first blows.

England was seasonably apprized of the preparations of France, and the invasion with which she was menaced. The ministers had promptly directed all the measures of defence, which the shortness of time and the present state of the kingdom admitted: they had assembled thirty-eight ships of the line, under the command of admiral Sir Charles Hardy, and had sent him to cruise in the Bay of Biscay, in order, if still possible, to prevent the junction of the two hostile fleets. It is difficult to comprehend, that armaments which occupied so vast an extent of sea, and whose light squadrons were reciprocally on the lookout, should not have encountered, or come to any knowledge the one of the other. The king of England issued a proclamation, announcing to his subjects that the enemy threatened to invade the kingdom. The officers in command upon the coasts were ordered to stand on the alert, and at the first appearance of danger to remove the cattle and provisions to a proper distance. The militia exercised continually in arms, and held themselves in readiness to march to the places of debarkation. The royal guards themselves expected every moment the order to march. All minds were strongly excited at the danger of the country; but amidst the sentiments of fear and hope which agitated them, the resolution to resist valiantly was general.

Meanwhile, the combined fleet which had been detained a long time by calms at the entrance of the Channel, all at once made its appearance there, the fifteenth of August: it presented itself before Plymouth with dread display. The alarm was immediately spread among the inhabitants of the coasts:

the militia flew to their post: the guards were doubled at the arsenals of Plymouth and Portsmouth. The bank in the latter town was closed; all commerce was suspended. From all parts of the coast of Cornwall, whole families were seen flying towards the inland countries with their most valuable effects. A new incident added to the universal panic. The *Ardent* ship of the line, of sixty-four guns, which had sailed from Portsmouth in order to join the fleet of admiral Hardy, fell into the hands of the French in view of Plymouth. During this time the British admiral was standing off and on near the mouth of the Channel: his inferiority, and the position of the enemy, not permitting him to bring succour to his country, amidst the perils that menaced it. But, what men could not do, was operated by chance. At the moment when the success of this great enterprise was going to be decided, all at once there sprung up a violent gale from the north-east, which forced the combined fleet to quit the Channel for the open ocean. The gale having abated, it displayed itself anew from the Lands-End and the Scilly islands to the chops of the Channel, with intent to intercept admiral Hardy, and to prevent his retreat into the ports of England. Nevertheless, he profited with so much ability of a favourable wind, that on the thirty-first of August he made good his entrance into the Channel, in full view of the allies, who could not hinder him. His design was, to entice them up to the narrowest part of the strait, where the superiority of numbers would avail them little, and the advantage of position would thus compensate the inequality of forces. The allies followed him as far as Plymouth. Each of the hos-

tile fleets preserved the best order: the British to avoid being approached till after having arrived at the desirable point, and to be always prepared to fall upon such of the enemy's vessels as should chase them too near: the French and Spaniards, to keep together, and to gain Plymouth before the enemy. But admiral Hardy having eluded all the projects of his adversary, the Count D'Orvilliers decided to retire from the coasts of England, and return to Brest. His retreat was attributed at the time to several causes, such as the continued prevalence of east winds, the want of provisions, the proximity of the equinox, and the great sickness and mortality among his crews, by which some of the ships were totally disabled.

Such was the issue of an expedition which seemed to portend the downfall of a most powerful empire. If there never had been so great a naval force assembled on the seas, so never were effects less answerable to appearances. Enfeebled by the loss of more than five thousand sailors, victims of the epidemic, the combined fleet could attempt no enterprise during the rest of the campaign. It followed that the weaker gathered those fruits which the stronger might reasonably have expected. Not only the numerous fleets of British merchantmen, loaded with the riches of the two Indies, arrived happily in the ports of Great Britain, but the squadron of Hardy put to sea again, and captured a multitude of French and Spanish vessels. Europe was astonished at it; she had not expected that so many preparations and such mighty efforts were to end in this wise. The glory of the British marine thus acquired a new lustre. The allies had, assuredly, shown no want either of ability or of va-

lour; but the greater part of men judge of merit by success, and the arms of the enemies of England lost much of their splendour. But whatever might be the causes which prevented the great naval armaments of the belligerent powers from coming to a decisive action, a few days after their retreat several partial combats were engaged, in which the French, the English, and the Americans seemed to vie for the palm of deep and desperate valour. The Count D'Orvilliers had sent out from Brest, to observe the movements of the British fleet, the frigate *Surveillante*, commanded by the Chevalier du Couedic, and the cutter *Expedition*, at the orders of the Viscount de Roquefeuil. These two vessels fell in, near the isle of Ouessant, with the British frigate *Quebec*, captain Farmer, accompanied also by a sloop called the *Rambler*. The two parties immediately engaged with fury. The forces, skill and bravery being equal on both sides, the action lasted three hours and a half. The frigates fought so close that several times their yards got entangled. Their artillery had already made a frightful ravage; the decks were covered with dead and wounded, their masts shivered and shot away; they could no longer be steered. Nor one nor other, however, seemed disposed to retire or surrender. The French captain received a wound in the head and swooned; but on recovering sense, he immediately resumed the command. Two fresh wounds in the belly could not constrain him to give over, on the contrary he gave orders for boarding. Captain Farmer displayed, on his part, an invincible courage. To smooth the way for boarding, the French threw a great quantity of grenades aboard the

Quebec. Her sails took fire; the flames spread, and soon caught other parts of the ship. The English exerted themselves to extinguish them, and obstinately refused to strike. The Chevalier du Couedic, to avoid the combustion, was forced to think of retiring, which he but difficultly accomplished. His bowsprit had got embarrassed with the rigging of the enemy. At length the fire took the magazine of the British frigate, and she blew up with her colours waving to the last.

The French captain, with an example of humanity that cannot be honoured enough, devoted all his cares to saving the greatest possible number of his enemies, who, to escape the flames, threw themselves headlong into the sea. Only forty-three of them could be rescued from the waves, the sole survivors of three hundred men who composed the company of the Quebec. Captain Farmer was swallowed up with the wreck of his ship. The French frigate was unable to move; the cutter Expedition, disengaged herself from the Rambler, which she had combated with advantage, in order to succour the Surveillante. She took her in tow, and brought her the following day into the port of Brest. The French government faithful to its own examples and those of civilized nations, sent free to England the forty-three Englishmen, not willing to retain those prisoners who, in the same day, had escaped the fury of men, cannon, fire and water. The French had forty killed and a hundred wounded. The king promoted the Chevalier du Couedic to the rank of captain of ship. But he could not long enjoy the glorious reputation which his valour and humanity had acquired him: his

wounds proved mortal three days after the engagement. He was deeply regretted in France; his name was pronounced with distinction throughout Europe, but no where with warmer eulogium than in England.

A few days before, the coasts of Great Britain had witnessed a combat no less sanguinary, and no less honourable for the two parties. Paul Jones, a Scotchman by birth, but engaged in the service of the United States, had established his cruise at first in the seas of Ireland, and afterwards in those of Scotland, where he was waiting for an opportunity to make some prize, or, according to his practice, to land upon some point of the coast in order to sack the country. His flotilla was composed of the *Bonhomme Richard* of forty guns, the *Alliance* of thirty-six, both American ships; the *Pallas*, a French frigate of thirty-two, in the pay of Congress, with two other smaller vessels. He fell in with a British merchant fleet, on its return from the Baltic, convoyed by captain Pearson, with the frigate *Serapis*, of forty-four guns, and the *Countess of Scarborough*, of twenty.

Pearson had no sooner perceived Jones, than he bore down to engage him, while the merchantmen endeavoured to gain the coast. The American flotilla formed to receive him. The two enemies joined battle at about seven in the evening, with great resolution, and the conflict was supported on both sides with equal valour. The *Serapis* had the advantage of metal and manœuvre; to obviate which, Jones took the resolution to fight her closer. He advanced till the two frigates were engaged yard to yard, and their sides so near that the muzzles of their guns

came in contact. In this position they continued to fight from eight in the evening till ten, with an audacity bordering on frenzy. But the artillery of the Americans was no longer capable of producing much effect. The *Richard* having received several heavy shot between wind and water, could now make no use whatever of her lower batteries, and two or three of her upper guns had burst, to the destruction of those who served them. Jones, at length, had only three left that could be worked, and he employed them against the masts of the hostile frigate. Seeing the little impression made by chain-shot, he resorted to another mode of attack. He threw a vast quantity of grenades and fire-works on board the British frigate. But his own now admitted the water on all sides, and threatened every moment to go to the bottom. Some of his officers having perceived it, asked him if he would surrender? "No," he answered them in a tremendous tone, and continued to push the grenades. The *Serapis* was already on fire in several places; the English could, with difficulty, extinguish the flames. Finally, they caught a cartridge, which, in an instant, fired all the others with a horrible explosion. All who stood near the helm were killed, and all the cannon of that part were dismounted. Meanwhile, Pearson was not disheartened: he ordered his people to board. Paul Jones prepared himself to repulse them. The English in jumping on board him found the Americans ready to receive them on the point of their pikes; they made the best of their way back to their own vessel. But during this interval, the fire had communicated itself from the *Serapis* to the *Bonhomme Richard*, and both were

a prey to the flames. No peril could shake these desperate men. The night was dark, the combatants could no longer see each other but by the blaze of the conflagration, and through dense volumes of smoke, while the sea was illuminated afar. At this moment, the American frigate *Alliance* came up. Amidst the confusion she discharged her broadside into the *Richard*, and killed a part of her remaining defenders. As soon as she discovered her mistake, she fell with augmented fury upon the *Serapis*. Then the valiant Englishman, seeing a great part of his crew either killed or disabled, his artillery dismounted, his vessel dismasted, and quite enveloped in flames, surrendered. All joined to extinguish the fire, and at length it was accomplished. The efforts made to stop the numerous leaks of the *Richard* proved less fortunate; she sunk the next morning. Out of three hundred and seventy-five men that were aboard that vessel, three hundred were killed or wounded. The English had but forty-nine killed, and their wounded amounted to no more than sixty-eight. History, perhaps, offers no example of an action more fierce, obstinate and sanguinary. During this time the *Pallas* had attacked the *Countess of Scarborough* and had captured her, not however without a stubborn resistance. After a victory so hard-earned, so deplorable, Jones wandered with his shattered vessels for some days, at the mercy of the winds, in the north sea. He finally made his way good, on the sixth of October, into the waters of the *Texel*.

The events which we have just related are all that claim notice in the latter months of 1779, after the accession of Spain to the alliance formed against Eng-

land. But at the commencement of the following year, other powers manifested dispositions which menaced that state with new enemies, or at least with exceedingly dubious friends.

1780. Ever since the commencement of the war, the Dutch had carried on privately a very lucrative commerce; they conveyed into the ports of France ship timber as well as all sorts of military, and especially, naval stores. The English were apprized of it, and the British government had often complained of it, in strong terms, to the States General, not only as contrary to the rules which England was accustomed to observe in time of war, with respect to the commerce of neutrals, and which themselves either tacitly or expressly acknowledged, but also as a violation of the treaties of commerce and alliance existing between the two nations. The same government had also remonstrated against the protection granted in Holland to French and American privateers. The States General answered only by disavowal, or evasive explanations. But about the beginning of January intelligence was received in England, that a numerous convoy of Dutch vessels, laden with naval stores for account of France, was already at sea, and that in order to escape the vigilance of the British cruisers, this fleet had placed itself under the protection of the Count de Byland, who, with a squadron of ships of the line and frigates, convoyed another merchant fleet bound for the Mediterranean. The British admiralty despatched captain Fielding, with a sufficient number of ships, to examine the convoy, and to seize any vessels containing contraband articles. The British squadron

having met that of Holland, captain Fielding requested permission to visit the merchant ships. It was refused him. This notwithstanding, he despatched his boats for that purpose, which were fired at, and prevented from executing their orders by the Dutch. Upon this, the Englishman fired a shot ahead of the Dutch admiral; it was answered by a broadside; and Count Byland, having received Fielding's in return, and being in no condition of force to pursue the contest further, then struck his colours. Most of the Dutch vessels that were in the predicament which occasioned the contest, had already, by pushing close to the shore, escaped the danger, and proceeded without interruption to the French ports. The others were seized. The Englishman then informed the Dutch admiral that he was at liberty to hoist his colours and prosecute his voyage. He hoisted his colours indeed; but he refused to separate from any part of his convoy; and he accordingly, with the whole of the fleet which was seized, accompanied the British squadron to Spithead. The ships and their cargoes were confiscated as contraband. This intelligence excited a violent clamour in Holland. The Dutch were at this time divided in two parties, one of which held for France, and the other for England. All those who belonged to the first were exceedingly indignant; they exclaimed that no consideration should induce them to endure patiently so daring an outrage. Even the partisans of the English could not venture to justify their conduct. It was easy to foresee that this incident was about to produce a rupture. Far from fearing, the British government wished it; it

preferred an open war to the clandestine assistance which Holland was lending to France. It had, besides, already fixed a hankering eye upon the Dutch riches, which, in the security of peace, were spread over the seas, or were amassed, without defence, in distant islands. Moreover, the States General had made no preparation for war, and it was to be supposed that they could not very suddenly enter the field.

This event, the instigations of France, the disposition to profit of the critical situation of Great Britain, at that time assailed by so many powerful enemies, and especially the desire to liberate the commerce of neutrals from British vexations, gave origin to that league of the states of the North, known by the name of the *Armed Neutrality*. It had, if not for author, at least for chief, the empress of Russia, Catharine II. who was immediately joined by the kings of Sweden and Denmark. The bases of this confederacy were, that neutral vessels might freely navigate from one port to another, even upon the coasts of belligerent powers: that all effects appertaining to one of these powers, become free so soon as they are on board a neutral vessel, except such articles as by a prior treaty should have been declared contraband: that to determine what articles were to be considered contraband, the empress of Russia referred to the tenth and eleventh articles of her treaty with Great Britain, the obligations of which were to be extended to all the other belligerent powers: that to specify what ports were to be deemed blockaded, it was agreed that those only should be accounted as such before which there should be stationed a sufficient number of enemy ships to render their entrance perilous:

finally, that the preceding principles should serve as rules in judicial proceedings, and in sentences to be pronounced respecting the legality of prizes. To command respect for this confederation, the three allied courts agreed, that each of them should keep a part of its naval force equipped, and stationed so as to form an uninterrupted chain of ships prepared to protect their common trade, and to afford each other mutual support and succour. They also agreed that when any vessel whatever should have shown by its papers that it was not carrier of any contraband article, it might place itself under the escort of ships of war, which should prevent its being stopt, or diverted from its destination. This article, which attributed to the state interested, or to its allies, the right of judging of the nature of cargoes with respect to contraband, appeared to exclude the right of visit so strenuously claimed by England; against whom, notwithstanding the general terms that were employed, it was manifest that all this display of maritime force was directed. The allies accompanied the foregoing stipulations with professions of the most generous sentiments: they declared that they were armed for the defence of the rights of nature and of nations; for the liberty of the human race, and for the prosperity of Europe in particular. In effect, the European nations, with the exception of the English, manifested an extreme satisfaction with this new plan of the northern powers; the wisdom and magnanimity of Catharine II. became the object of universal encomium: so universal was the hatred which the maritime vexations of England had excited against that power! The articles of the armed neutrality were

communicated to all the European states, especially to France, Spain, Holland, England and Portugal, with invitation to accede to them. The courts of Versailles and Madrid, eager to profit of the circumstance to sow the seeds of division between Great Britain and neutrals, hastened to address their felicitations to the empress of Russia, and to answer that they were ready not only to join the confederacy, but that they had long before given their admirals and sea officers such instructions that the principles of the armed neutrality were already in force as to them. They added that equity had pointed them to those very measures which were now proclaimed by the confederate powers of the North. The court of Lisbon, accustomed to an excessive condescendence towards England, declined the alliance. The States General of Holland deliberated upon the course they had to pursue. The British ministers, either hoping or fearing what was to happen, or in order to constrain them to declare themselves, had already required them to furnish to England the subsidies stipulated by the treaty of alliance. The Dutch alleged the inevitable tardiness of their deliberations: the truth was, they were determined to give nothing. The cabinet of St. James's then took a resolution calculated to compel them to a decision, and to prevent their joining the northern confederacy. It gave them to understand, that notwithstanding the number and power of its enemies, it was resolved to proceed to the last extremities with the Dutch nation, unless it adhered to the ancient system of neutrality. Accordingly, the king of Great Britain issued a proclamation, purporting that the non-performance of the States

General with respect to the succours stipulated by the treaty of alliance, was to be considered as a violation of that treaty; that they had thereby fallen from those privileges which they derived only from the alliance; and that the subjects of the United Provinces were, therefore, henceforward to be considered upon the same footing with those of other neutral states not allied. By this step the British king, even before his demand had been expressly rejected, freed himself from the obligations of the treaty of alliance. He hoped by this vigorous procedure, so to intimidate the Dutch, that they would decline entering into the almost universal combination of Europe against the maritime pretensions of England. His expectations were much disappointed. The French party possessed a decided preponderance in the republic, particularly in the most influential provinces, such as Holland and West Friesland. The impression also produced by the insult offered Byland, was too recent; hence, after long and frequent debates, it was voted, with unanimity of provinces, that the subsidies to England should not be paid; moreover, that escort of ships of war should be given to the merchantmen of the republic, with the exception only of those, which according to the stipulations of former treaties might be deemed contraband. It was further decreed, that the invitation of the empress of Russia should be accepted with gratitude, and that a negotiation for that purpose should be opened with prince Gallitzin, her majesty's envoy extraordinary to the States General.

Already surrounded with enemies, and seeing Russia waver, whose power and alliance demanded a se-

rious attention, England, without consenting to admit the principles of the armed neutrality, answered by vague generalities, which manifested, at least, a desire to preserve peace. Meanwhile, amidst the open or covert perils against which she had to defend herself, she not only betrayed no symptoms of discouragement, but even discovered a determination to prosecute the war with vigour upon the American continent. The only change which took place in her plans, as we have already seen, was to leave merely sufficient garrisons in New York, and to direct all her efforts against the southern provinces. Accordingly, to enable general Clinton to attack the Carolinas, admiral Arbuthnot had set sail for America, in the month of May, with a fleet of ships of war and upwards of four hundred transports. But soon after his departure from the coasts of England, he received intelligence that the French, under the conduct of the Prince of Nassau, had attacked the isle of Jersey, situated near the coasts of Normandy. Thinking it better to conform to the empire of circumstances than to his instructions, he sent back his convoy into Torbay, and repaired with his squadron to the relief of Jersey. The attempt of the French miscarried. The admiral resumed his original route. But such were the obstacles that ensued this retardment, that he lost much time in getting out of the Channel, and gaining sea-room to shape his course for America: so that it was late in August before he arrived at New York. The English at first, however, made no movement, because they were inhibited by the Count D'Estaing, at that time engaged in the siege of Savannah. Finally, on intelligence of the issue of that enterprise, and the

departure of the French admiral from the coasts of America, Clinton had embarked with seven thousand men, under convoy of Arbuthnot, upon the expedition of South Carolina.

England intended not only to carry on the war with energy upon the American continent, and to defend her possessions in the West Indies, but she even projected conquests in this quarter, if the occasion should present itself. The ministers accordingly resolved to send to those islands a considerable re-enforcement both of ships and troops, under the conduct of admiral Rodney, a man in whom the government, and even the whole British nation, had reposed an extreme confidence. It appeared the more essential to despatch these succours to the West Indies, as the French were preparing on their part to pass thither a formidable re-enforcement under the Count De Guichen. But before admiral Rodney had put to sea, it was deemed expedient to employ him in a more important expedition. Spain had commenced hostilities by laying close siege and blockade to the fortress of Gibraltar. The blockade was confided to admiral Don Barcelo, a seaman of great vigilance. He exerted his utmost diligence to prevent any sort of supplies from finding their way into the place. The garrison already began to suffer severely from scarcity. They could not even hope to receive provision from the neighbouring coasts, by means of light boats which might have eluded the watchfulness of the Spaniards; for the inhabitants of the Barbary-Shores, and especially the Emperor of Morocco, had declared themselves for Spain, as soon as they ascertained the inferiority of the English in the Mediter-

anean. There remained, therefore, no other way of re-victualling the place but from England itself; and the convoy destined for this purpose, required a formidable escort. Rodney was charged with this enterprise. He departed from the British coasts in the first days of the year, with a fleet of twenty-one sail of the line and a considerable number of provision vessels. Fortune favoured his first efforts. He had only been a few days at sea, when he fell in with a convoy of fifteen Spanish merchantmen, bound from St. Sebastian to Cadiz, under the guard of the Guipuscoa, a new ship of sixty-four guns, of four frigates from thirty-two to twenty-six, and of two smaller vessels. Rodney gave chase, and took the whole fleet. The capture was the more fortunate, as the greater part of the vessels were loaded with wheat, flour and other species of provision; and the remainder with bale goods and naval stores. The former he conveyed to Gibraltar, and the latter he sent back to England, where the naval stores were much wanted. But this was only the prelude to greater and more brilliant success. On the sixteenth of January, admiral Rodney fell in, off Cape St. Vincent, with a Spanish squadron of eleven ships of the line, under the command of Don Juan Langara. The Spanish admiral, if he had chosen, might have avoided the encounter of a force so prodigiously superior to his own. But the moment he descried the enemy's sails from his mast head, instead of sending out his frigates to reconnoitre, and falling back upon a port, he immediately formed his ships in order of battle. When, on the near approach of the English, he became certain of their superiority, he endeavoured to withdraw, but

it was already too late. Admiral Rodney had given the signal for a general chase, with orders to engage as the ships came up in rotation; taking at the same time the lee gage, to prevent the enemy's retreat into their own ports. The English ships so much out-sailed the Spanish, that by four in the evening the headmost had come up with them, and began to engage; their fire was returned with great spirit and resolution by the Spaniards. The night was dark, tempestuous and dismal; the proximity of the shoals of St. Lucar rendered the aspect more terrible. Early in the action the Spanish ship San Domingo, of seventy guns and six hundred men, blew up, and all on board perished. The action and pursuit continued until two in the morning. The Spanish admiral's ship, the Phoenix, of eighty guns, with three others of seventy, were taken and carried safely into Gibraltar. The San Eugenio and San Julian, had also surrendered to the English, who had shifted their officers, and put a certain number of British seamen on board each of them. But the sea being rough, the night tempestuous, and the breakers very near, the English officers, having no pilots that knew the Spanish coast, placed themselves at the discretion of their prisoners, who, from vanquished becoming victors, carried the two ships into the port of Cadiz. Two other ships of the line and two frigates, all greatly damaged, escaped into the same port. The following day the English had great difficulty in extricating their fleet from the shoals, and getting back into deep water. Don Juan de Langara had been wounded severely.

Admiral Rodney hastened to profit of his victory; he entered Gibraltar. In a short time he deposited there all the supplies he had brought: provision became so abundant that the fortress found itself in a situation to endure a long siege without further recruit. After having accomplished with equal utility to his country and glory to himself the orders of his court, Rodney proceeded, about the middle of February, with a part of his force, for the West Indies. He left the rest of his fleet with the Spanish prizes, on their way to England, under the conduct of rear-admiral Digby. Fortune, who had shown herself so propitious to the English, seemed disposed to serve them still on their return. They perceived at a great distance a squadron, consisting of several French ships of different sizes. It was a convoy bound to the Isle of France, under the protection of the *Proteus* and *Ajax*, both of sixty-four guns, and of the frigate *la Charmante*. The Viscount du Chilleau commanded the whole. As soon as he discovered the English, he made a signal to the *Ajax* and the bulk of the convoy to make their escape by the rear. As to himself, he rallied about the *Proteus*, the frigate and some smaller vessels, in order to take up the attention of the enemy. His stratagem succeeded. Rear-admiral Digby gave no heed to the *Ajax* and the greater part of the convoy which retired under her escort: he was fully occupied in pursuit of the *Proteus*, which sailed with such celerity that she had little to fear; but unluckily, she carried away some of her spars, which so retarded her progress that she fell into the hands of the English, together with three transports. Such was the success of Rodney's ex-

pedition to Gibraltar. It was celebrated in England by unusual rejoicings, as well on account of its real importance, as because it was the first good news which had arrived for so long a time. The parliament voted public thanks to George Rodney.

Thus England, while she defended herself, on the one hand, against her enemies in Europe, prepared herself, on the other, to attack at once the republicans upon the American continent, and the French and Spaniards in the West Indies. Her resolution in the midst of so many perils, and such powerful foes, became the object of universal admiration. Her constancy was compared to that of Lewis XIV. who nobly faced the coalition of all Europe against him. She was declared to imitate the still more recent example of Frederic the Great, who had withstood all the efforts of the most formidable confederacy. Even those who had the most openly blamed the conduct of the British government towards its colonies, were now the very men who most extolled her present magnanimity. But thinking men better appreciated the truth: if they commended the firmness of the British monarch, they neither compared him to Lewis XIV. nor yet to Frederic the Great. They reflected that England, being an island, cannot without extreme difficulty be attacked in its interior parts, and in the very elements of its force; and that naval battles are never so decisive as those of land. It cannot be denied, however, that the ardour and intrepidity of the British nation seemed to increase with all the dangers of its position. The most formidable antagonists of the ministry suspended their attacks, in order to devote themselves exclusively to

the necessities of the state. "Let us first triumph abroad;" they exclaimed, "we will then settle this controversy between ourselves." In the country, as in the most opulent cities, a multitude of private individuals engaged to advance large sums in order to levy and organize troops. Nor private subjects only, but political and commercial bodies vied in promptness to offer the state their voluntary contributions. The East India Company presented the government with three ships of seventy-four guns, and a sum sufficient to raise and maintain six thousand seamen. Extraordinary bounties were given to those who presented themselves to serve the king by sea or land. This lure, together with the love of country and hatred for the French and Spaniards, drew sailors to the ships in multitude: upon the whole surface of the kingdom the militia were seen forming themselves to the exercise of arms. In a word, all Great Britain was in motion to combat the Bourbons. The people of Europe who had thought at first that she would find it difficult to resist the formidable forces which that house had marshalled for her destruction, began to believe that so much courage and firmness might be crowned with victory, or at least render the struggle still for a long time dubious, and consistent with her safety.



BOOK TWELFTH.

1780.

I HAVE now to describe an obstinate war, remarkable for its numerous encounters and variety of success, and one which, perhaps, more than any other, has demonstrated how uncertain is the fate of arms, how inconstant the favour of fortune, and with what pertinacity the human mind can arm itself in pursuit of that whereon it has fixed its desires. Victory often produced the effects of defeat, and defeat those of victory; the victors frequently became the vanquished, the vanquished the victors. In little actions was exhibited great valour; and the prosperous or unfortunate efforts of a handful of combatants had sometimes more important consequences than in Europe attend those terrible battles where valiant and powerful nations rush to the shock of arms. The Carolinas saw no cessation of this fierce conflict, till by numberless reverses the cause of Great Britain began to be considered altogether hopeless upon the American continent.

Sir Henry Clinton, as we have related in the preceding book, had departed from the state of New York for the expedition of the Carolinas: the first object of it was the conquest of Charleston, the reduction of which, it was calculated, would involve that of the entire province. He took with him seven

to eight thousand men, English, Hessians and loyalists. Among them was found a corps of excellent cavalry, a species of force very essential to the success of operations in open and flat countries. Clinton had likewise taken care to fill his transports with an immense quantity of military stores and provision. The English moved towards their object, animated with extreme ardour and confidence of victory. The winds and sea were at first highly favourable; but there afterwards arose the most violent tempest, which dispersed the whole fleet, and greatly damaged the most of the vessels. Some arrived about the last of January at Tybee, in Georgia; others were intercepted by the Americans. One transport foundered with all its lading: the horses, both artillery and troop, that were on board, nearly all perished. These losses, distressing at any time, were grievous and next to irreparable, under the present circumstances. They moreover, so retarded the enterprise of Charleston that the Americans had time to put that place in a state of defence.

All the dispersed corps at length re-assembled in Georgia. The victorious troops of Savannah received those of Clinton with a high flush of spirits: all exerted themselves with emulation to remedy the disasters sustained in the passage. When all their preparations were completed, that is, on the tenth of February, they set sail in the transports under convoy of some ships of war. Favoured by the winds they soon reached the mouth of North-Edisto, a river which empties itself into the sea at a short distance from the Isle of St. John, upon the coast of South Carolina. After having reconnoitred the pla-

ces and passed the bar, the British army landed, and took possession first of the above-mentioned Island, and next, that of James, which stretches to the south of Charleston-Harbour. It afterwards, by throwing a bridge over Wappoo-Cut, extended its posts on the main land to the banks of Ashley river, which washes the walls of Charleston. From Wappoo-Cut it was intended to pass the troops in gallies and flat boats to the left bank of the Ashley, upon which Charleston stands. But the delays occasioned by the events of the passage having given the Americans time to erect new fortifications and to re-enforce the garrison, Clinton determined not to undertake the siege till after having drawn a re-enforcement from general Prevost, stationed at Savannah, whom he accordingly directed to send him twelve hundred men, including the greatest number of cavalry possible. He had likewise written to Knyphausen, who, after his departure commanded in the state of New York, to forward him with all expedition, re-enforcements and munitions. A few days after, general Patterson joined him with the troops from Georgia, after having endured excessive fatigues, and surmounted the numerous obstacles thrown in his way not only by swollen rivers and miry roads, but also by the enemy, whose light detachments had hung on his left flank from Savannah to far within the frontiers of Carolina. Meanwhile Clinton intrenched himself upon the banks of the Ashley and of the adjacent arms of the sea in order to secure his communications with the fleet. During this interval colonel Tarleton, of whom there will be frequent mention in the course of this history, an officer of cavalry, as

skilful as enterprising, had repaired to the fertile island of Port Royal, where employing money with the disaffected and force with the patriots, he spared no exertions for the acquisition of horses to replace those lost in the passage. If he could not collect as many as the exigencies of the service demanded, yet the success much surpassed his expectations. Thus, about the last of March, every thing was in preparation for commencing the siege of Charleston; the British army was separated from the place only by the waters of the river Ashley.

On the other hand, the Americans had omitted none of those preparations, whether civil or military, which they deemed the most suitable for a vigorous defence; although, in truth, it had not been in their power to effect all that was requisite to meet the danger of the emergency. The paper currency was so out of credit with the inhabitants of South Carolina, that it was excessively difficult to purchase with it the necessities of war. The want of soldiers was felt with equal severity. The militia, impatient to enjoy repose after the painful operations of Georgia, during the preceding winter, had disbanded and retired to their habitations.

Another motive also discouraged them from marching to the succour of Charleston; and that was, the fear of the small pox, which it was known prevailed in that city. Moreover, the six regiments of the line, belonging to the provinces, were so enfeebled by desertions, diseases, battle, and the expiration of engagements, that all together did not amount to a thousand soldiers. It should be added that many of the Carolinians were induced to profit of the amnesty offered

by general Prevost, at Savannah, some through loyalty towards the king, others to preserve their effects from pillage. In effect, the English put to sack and devastation, without lenity, the property of all those who continued to serve under the banners of Congress: and, besides, the victory of Savannah had penetrated minds with a great terror of the British arms. The major part were reluctant to immure themselves within a city which they believed little capable of resisting the assaults of so audacious an enemy.

Such was the penury of means to which South Carolina was reduced: the Congress displayed not much more energy. They had been seasonably apprized of the designs of the English, and would fain have averted the storm they saw going to burst upon South Carolina. But, on the one hand, the weakness of the army of Washington, which a great number of his soldiers had abandoned at the termination of their engagement: on the other, the force of the garrisons which Clinton had left in the state of New York, rendered it unadvisable to detach any effective succour to Charleston. Nevertheless, to support by words those whom they were unable to assist by deeds, or under the persuasion that the people, re-animated at the peril which menaced South Carolina, would voluntarily fly to arms, the Congress wrote to the chiefs of that province, to arm themselves with constancy, for it was intended to send them a re-enforcement of nine thousand men. But the fact proved that they could only send fifteen hundred, of the regular troops of North Carolina and Virginia. The Congress despatched, besides, two frigates, a corvette, and some smaller vessels, to maintain, if possible, a communi-

cation by sea with the besieged city. The Carolinians were also exhorted to arm their slaves: a scheme, however, which was not put in execution, whether because of the universal repugnance that was felt to such a measure, or because there was not at hand a sufficiency of arms for the purpose. Notwithstanding this coldness of the citizens, the magistrates of Charleston, encouraged by the presence and words of general Lincoln, who directed all that concerned the military part, held a general council, in which it was resolved to defend the city to the last extremity. Yet more, knowing how important in the operations of war, and especially in all cases of emergency, is the unity of measures and power, they conferred a sort of dictatorship on John Rutledge, their governor, giving him authority to do whatever he should think necessary to the safety of the republic. They withheld, however, the power over the life of citizens; and he might punish none with death without a legal trial. Vested with such an authority, Rutledge called out the militia; but few displayed their colours. He then issued a proclamation, summoning all persons inscribed on the military rolls, or having property in the city, to muster and join the garrison; their disobedience forfeited their estates. At so rigorous an order, some made their appearance; but still the number of those who took arms was far from answering the wishes of the governor. The inhabitants of the country seemed plunged in a kind of stupor; they wished, before they took their side, to see what would be the fate of events; in brief, the garrison of so considerable a city scarcely amounted to five thousand men, inclusive of regulars, militia and seamen. The first, who were prin-

cipally relied on for the defence of the place, were to the number of about two thousand, Meanwhile, the fortifications were pushed with indefatigable industry. They consisted, on the land side, in a chain of redoubts, lines and batteries, extending from one river to the other, and covered with an artillery of eighty cannon and mortars. In the front of either flank, the works were covered by swamps, originating from the opposite rivers, and tending towards the centre; through which they were connected by a canal passing from one to the other. Between these outward impediments and the works, were two strong rows of abattis, the trees being buried slanting in the earth, so that their heads facing outwards, formed a kind of fraize work against the assailants; and these were further secured by a ditch double picketted. In the centre where the natural defences were unequal to those on the flanks, the Americans had constructed a horn-work of masonry, as well to remedy that defect, as to cover the principal gate. Such were the fortifications which, stretching across the neck behind the city, and from the Ashley river to Cooper's river, defended it on the part of the land. But on the two sides where it is washed by these rivers, the Americans had contented themselves with erecting numerous batteries, constructed, the better to resist shot, of earth mingled with palmetto-wood. All parts of the shore, where it was possible to land, had been secured by strong palisades. To support the defences on shore, the Americans had a considerable marine force in the harbour, consisting in eight of their own frigates, with one French frigate, besides several smaller vessels, principally gallies. These were ju-

diciously moored at a narrow pass, between Sullivans-Island and the middle ground; and if they had continued in this position, they might have severely annoyed the British squadron, on its approach to Fort Moultrie, situated on Sullivans-Island, so much celebrated for the obstinate and successful defence which it made against the attack of the English in 1776. But when admiral Arbuthnot advanced with his ships to Charleston-Bar, the American flotilla, abandoning its station, and leaving fort Moultrie to its own fortune, retired to Charleston; where most of the ships, with a number of merchant vessels, being fitted with chevaux-de-frize on their decks, were sunk to obstruct the channel of Cooper's river, where it flows between the left part of the town and a low sand-bank called Shutes-Folly. Thus, with the exception of Fort Moultrie, there remained nothing to prevent the British fleet from entering the harbour, to co-operate with the land forces. In this manner the inhabitants prepared to defend themselves valiantly against the attack of the enemy; but they still founded their hope on the succours of their neighbours of North Carolina and Virginia.

Lincoln and Rutledge exhibited a rivalry of zeal and talent in their efforts to impart fresh confidence to the besieged, and new strength to the works. They were admirably seconded by two French engineers, de Laumoy and de Cambray. The troops of the line were charged with the defence of the intrenchments, as the post of peril, and the militia had the guard of the banks of the river.

As soon as Clinton had completed all his preparations, the twenty-ninth of March, having left a de-

tachment to guard his magazines at Wappoo-Cut, he passed the Ashley river without opposition, twelve miles above Charleston. Immediately after his debarkation he sent a body of infantry and cavalry to occupy the great road and scour the country to within cannon shot from the place. The army then followed and took post across the isthmus behind the city at the distance of a mile and a half. From this moment, the garrison lost all communication with the land, the enemy being masters of both sides of the Ashley, there remained no way open for succours of men and provision but across the Cooper on their left. The royalists had soon transported to their camp, through the assistance of captain Elphinstone with his boats and armed galleys, all the heavy artillery, stores, and baggage. On the night of the first of April, they broke ground within eight hundred yards of the American works; and in a week their guns were mounted in battery.

In the meantime admiral Arbuthnot had made his dispositions for passing the bar in order to gain the entrance of Charleston harbour. The frigates, as drawing less water, passed without any difficulty; but the ships of the line could not be got over till after having been lightened of their artillery, munitions and even their water; the whole squadron passed on the twentieth of March, Arbuthnot came to anchor at Five-Fathom-Hole; he had still however to surmount, before he could take an active part in the siege of Charleston, the obstacle of Fort-Moultrie, occupied by colonel Pinckney with a respectable force. The English admiral profiting of a south wind and flood-

tide, weighed anchor on the ninth of April, and passing it under a press of sail, took his station within cannon shot from the city near James Island. Colonel Pinckney had opened all his artillery upon the British vessels, at the moment of their passage; but such was the rapidity of their way, that it did them little damage. The dead and wounded were less than thirty: a solitary transport was abandoned and burned.

In this state of things, the batteries ready to be opened, and the place already invested by sea and land; Clinton and Arbuthnot sent a joint summons to general Lincoln; holding out the fatal consequences of a cannonade and storm, and stating the present as the only favourable opportunity for preserving the lives and property of the inhabitants. The American answered spiritedly, that he was determined to defend himself. The English immediately commenced their fire: the place answered it briskly. But the besiegers had the advantage of a more numerous artillery, particularly in mortars, which made great ravages. The pioneers and miners, under the direction of the same Moncrieffe who had gained so much honour in the defence of Savannah, pushed forward the works with extreme rapidity. The second parallel was already completed and furnished with its batteries: every thing promised the English an approaching victory: but the Americans had assembled a corps on the upper part of Cooper river, at a place called Monks-Corner. They were under the conduct of general Huger; and, from that position they could infest the besiegers on their rear, revictual Charleston, and in case of extremity, enable the gar-

rison to evacuate the place, and retreat with safety into the country.

Besides, however feeble was this corps, it might serve as an incentive and rallying point for continual accessions. North Carolina had already despatched to their camp a great quantity of arms, stores and baggage. Under these considerations, general Clinton detached fourteen hundred men, under lieutenant colonel Webster, to strike at this body of republicans before it should become more considerable, to break in upon the remaining communications of the besieged, and to seize the principal passes of the country. Colonel Webster was accompanied by Tarleton and Ferguson, both partisans of distinguished gallantry. The Americans had established their principal cantonments on the left side of the Cooper, and being masters of Biggins-Bridge, on that river, they had passed all their cavalry to the right bank. This position was strong, the bridge being accessible only by a cause-way through an impracticable morass: but they were off their guard, having neglected to post vedettes, and to reconnoitre the environs. Moreover, their dispositions were defective; they had placed the cavalry in front, and the infantry in rear. The English arrived unexpectedly, at three in the morning: their attack was impetuous, it routed the Americans in a few instants: all perished save those who sought safety by flight. General Huger, and the colonels Washington and Jamieson, threw themselves into the morass, and were fortunate enough to escape by favour of the darkness. Four hundred horses, a prize of high value, fell into the hands of the victors, with many carriages loaded with arms,

clothing and stores. The royalists took possession of the bridge, and, soon after, secured another passage lower down, and overran the country on the left side of the river, particularly the district of St. Thomas. In this manner the besieged were deprived also of the Cooper river, and Charleston found itself completely enclosed. The garrison was not judged sufficiently strong to warrant any opposition to this enterprise. The Americans attempted only to fortify a point on the left bank, called Point-Lamprey: but Webster's corps being considerably re-enforced, and Lord Cornwallis having taken the command on that side of the river, they found themselves constrained to abandon this last post. The British foraged without obstacle, prevented the assembling of the militia, and cut off every species of succour. A few days after, Tarleton having advanced with incredible celerity upon the banks of the Santee river, attacked and routed another body of republican cavalry, commanded by colonel Buford: arms, horses, munitions, every thing fell into the power of the victor. Adverse fortune continued to pursue the republicans. Admiral Arbuthnot landed in Sullivans-Island a body of seamen and marines, men of approved hardihood. He began to enclose Fort-Moultrie: having procured a full knowledge of the state of the garrison and defences of the place, he prepared to storm it on the part of the west and north-west, where the works were the weakest. The garrison, sensible of the impossibility of relief, the English being masters of the sea, and seeing the means of attack incomparably superior to those of resistance, surrendered, the seventh of May. Thus Fort-Moultrie, which four

years before had repulsed all the forces of admiral Hyde Parker, fell without firing a shot into the power of the royalists.

In the meantime, the besiegers had completed their third parallel, which they carried close to the canal we have already described: and by a sap pushed to the dam which supplied it with water on the right, they had drained it in several parts to the bottom. They hastened to arm this parallel with its batteries, and to complete the traverses and other mines of communication. The place being thus environed, and the bombardment about to commence, Clinton summoned Lincoln anew. A negotiation was opened, but the American commander required not only that the citizens and militia should be free with respect to their persons, but that they should also be permitted to sell their property, and retire with the proceeds wherever they might see fit: the English general refused to grant these conditions. He insisted that the whole garrison should surrender at discretion; and, as to property, he would agree to nothing further than that it should not be given up to pillage. The conferences were broken off, and hostilities recommenced. The fortifications were battered with violence by the heavy artillery; bombs and carcasses overwhelmed the town, and lighted frequent conflagrations: the Hessian marksmen felled all that showed themselves at the embrasures, or on the ramparts. Neither shelter nor retreat remained to the besieged: every thing announced that the moment of surrender must soon arrive. The fire of the place was already become languid; its artillery was in part dismounted, and its best cannoniers either

killed or out of service; and, the English had pushed on their works till they issued in the ditch of the place. The city was menaced with an assault; discord began to break out within: the timid and those attached to the royal party murmured aloud: they conjured Lincoln not to expose to inevitable destruction, so rich, so important a city. They represented that the stock of provision was nearly exhausted; that the engineers considered it impossible to sustain a storm; in a word, that there was not the least way of safety left open.

In so terrible an extremity, Lincoln divested himself of his natural inflexibility; and, on the twelfth of May, the capitulation was signed. The garrison were allowed some of the honours of war; but they were not to uncase their colours, nor their drums to beat a British march. The continental troops and seamen were to keep their baggage, and to remain prisoners of war until they were exchanged. The militia were to be permitted to return to their respective homes, as prisoners on parole; and while they adhered to their parole, were not to be molested by the British troops in person or property. The citizens of all sorts to be considered as prisoners on parole, and to hold their property on the same terms with the militia. The officers of the army and navy, to retain their servants, swords, pistols, and their baggage unsearched. As to general Lincoln, he was to have liberty to send a ship to Philadelphia with his despatches.

Thus, after a siege of forty days, the capital of South Carolina fell into the hands of the royalists. Seven general officers, ten continental regiments, much thinned, it is true, and three battalions of ar-

tillery, prisoners of the English, gave signal importance to their victory: the whole number of men in arms who were taken, was estimated at six thousand. Four hundred pieces of artillery, of every sort, were the prey of the victors, with no small quantity of powder, balls and bombs: three stout American frigates, one French, and a polacre of the same nation, augmented the value of the conquest. The loss of men was not great on either side, and was not very unequally shared.

The Carolinians complained greatly of their not being properly assisted by their neighbours, particularly the Virginians, in this long and arduous struggle. The conduct of general Lincoln was unanimously blamed, though very differently judged. Some reproached him for having allowed himself to be cooped up in so extensive and so indefensible a town, instead of continuing the war in the open field. They said that if he had taken this course, he might have preserved to the union a considerable army, and the most fertile part of the province; that it would have been much better to harass and fatigue the enemy by marches, retreats, ambuscades, and well concerted attacks: that Washington had acted very differently, and with greater utility to his country, when to the loss of his army he preferred that of the island of New York, and even of the city of Philadelphia itself. It was not Lincoln alone, however, who should have been made responsible for events, but the Congress and the neighbouring provincial states; since they promised, at the approach of danger, reinforcements which they did not furnish.

Other censors of the general's conduct condemned him for not having evacuated the town, when all the roads were still open on the left side of the Cooper river. But if he followed an opposite counsel, it should be attributed, at first, to this same hope of promised succour; and then, after the rout of Monk's-Corner, and the English had occupied the country between the Cooper and the Santee, to the fear he justly entertained of encountering an infinite superiority of force, particularly in cavalry, and to the repugnance he felt to leave Charleston at discretion in the hand of the enemy.

As soon as general Clinton had taken possession of that capital, he hastened to take all those measures, civil as well as military, which were judged proper for the re-establishment of order; he then made his dispositions for recovering the rest of the province, where every thing promised to anticipate the will of the victor. Determined to follow up his success, before his own people should have time to cool, or the enemy to take breath, he planned three expeditions: one towards the river Savannah, in Georgia, another upon Ninety-Six, beyond the Saluda, both with a view to raise the loyalists, very numerous in those parts; the third was destined to scour the country between the Cooper and Santee, in order to disperse a body of republicans, who, under the conduct of colonel Buford, were retiring by forced marches towards North Carolina. All three were completely successful; the inhabitants flocked from all parts to meet the royal troops, declaring their desire to resume their ancient allegiance, and offering to defend the royal cause with arms in hand. Many even of

the inhabitants of Charleston, excited by the proclamations of the British general, manifested a like zeal to combat under his banners. Lord Cornwallis, after having swept the two banks of the Cooper and passed the Santee, made himself master of Georgetown. Such was the devotion, either real or feigned, of the inhabitants towards the king; such was their terror, or their desire to ingratiate themselves with the victor, that not content with coming in from every quarter to offer their services, in support of the royal government, they dragged in their train as prisoners, those friends of liberty, whom they had lately obeyed with such parade of zeal, and whom they now denominated their oppressors. Meanwhile, colonel Buford continued his retreat with celerity, and it appeared next to impossible that he should be overtaken. Tarleton, nevertheless, offered to attempt the enterprise, promising to reach him. Cornwallis put under his command for this object, a strong corps of cavalry, with about an hundred light infantry mounted on horse-back. His march was so rapid, that on the twenty-eighth of May he had gained Cambden, where he learned that Buford had departed the preceding day from Rugeleys-Mills, and that he was pushing on with extreme speed, in order to join another body of republicans that was on the march from Salisbury to Charlotte, in North Carolina. Tarleton saw the importance of preventing the junction of these two corps; accordingly, notwithstanding the fatigue of men and horses, many of these having already dropped dead with exhaustion, notwithstanding the heat of the season, he redoubled his pace, and at length presented himself, after a march of one hun-

dred and five miles in fifty-four hours, at a place called Wacsaw, before the object of his pursuit. The English summoned the Americans to throw down their arms: the latter answered with spirit, that they were prepared to defend themselves. The colonel drew up his troops in order of battle; they consisted of four hundred Virginia regulars, with a detachment of horse. He formed but one line, and ordered his artillery and baggage to continue their march in his rear, without halting: his soldiers were directed to reserve their fire till the British cavalry were approached within twenty yards. Tarleton lost no time in preparation, but charged immediately. The Americans gave way, after a faint resistance; the English pursued them with vigour, and the carnage was dreadful. Their victory was complete; all, in a manner, that were not killed on the spot, were wounded and taken. Such was the rage of the victors, that they massacred many of those who offered to surrender. The Americans remembered it with horror. From that time it became with them a proverbial mode of expressing the cruelties of a barbarous enemy: to call them *Tarleton's quarter*. Artillery, baggage, munitions, colours, every thing fell into the power of the English. It appears that colonel Buford committed two faults, the most serious of which was the having awaited, in open ground, an enemy much superior in cavalry. If, instead of sending his carriages behind him, as soon as he perceived the royal troops he had formed them into a cincture for his corps, the English would not have attempted to force it, or would have exposed themselves to a sanguinary repulse. The second, was that of forbidding his men

to fire at the enemy, till he was within twenty paces; it ensued that Tarleton's cavalry was enabled to charge with more order and efficacy. That officer immediately returned, followed by the trophies of his victory, to Cambden, where he rejoined Lord Cornwallis. The American division which had advanced to Charlotte, changed its plan, on hearing of the discomfiture of Wacshaw, and fell back with precipitation on Salisbury.

This reverse destroyed the last hopes of the Carolinians, and was soon followed by their submission. General Clinton wrote to London, that South Carolina was become English again, and that there were few men in the province who were not prisoners to, or in arms with the British forces. But he was perfectly aware that the conquest he owed to his arms could not be preserved but by the entire re-establishment of the civil administration. To this end, he deemed it essential to put minds at rest by the assurance of amnesty, and to oblige the inhabitants to contribute to the defence of the country, and to the restoration of the royal authority. Accordingly, in concert with admiral Arbuthnot, he published a full and absolute pardon in favour of those who should immediately return to their duty, promising that no offences and transgressions heretofore committed in consequence of political troubles, should be subject to any investigation whatever. He excepted only those who, under a mockery of the forms of justice, had imbrued their hands in the blood of their fellow-citizens, who had shown themselves adverse to revolt and usurpation. He had then to reflect that a great number of the Carolinians were prisoners of

war on parole, and that while they were considered as such, they could not equitably be constrained to take arms in favour of the king. But, in the pride of victory, Clinton thought he might sport with the public faith, and got over this difficulty by declaring, in a proclamation issued on the third of June, that the prisoners of war were free, and released from their parole, with the exception of the regular troops taken in Charleston and Fort Moultrie: he added, that they were re-established in all the rights and all the duties of British subjects. But that no doubt might remain with regard to his intentions, and to prevent all conjecture, he gave notice that every man must take an active part in support of the royal government, and in the suppression of that anarchy which had prevailed already but too long. For the attainment of this object, he required all persons to be in readiness with their arms at a moment's warning: those who had families, to form a militia for home defence; but those who had none to serve with the royal forces for any six months of the ensuing twelve, in which they might be called upon to assist, as he said, "in driving their rebel oppressors, and all the miseries of war, far from the province." They were not to be employed, however, out of the two Carolinas and Georgia. Thus citizens were armed against citizens, brothers against brothers: thus the same individuals who had been acknowledged as soldiers of the Congress, since they had been comprehended in the capitulation as prisoners of war, were constrained to take arms for the king of England: a violence, if not unprecedented, at least odious, and which rebounded, as we shall see by the sequel, on the heads

of those who were guilty of it. General Clinton, seeing the province in tranquillity; and the ardour, which appeared universal, of the inhabitants to join the royal standard, distributed his army in the most important garrisons; when, leaving Lord Cornwallis in command of all the forces stationed in South Carolina and Georgia, he departed from Charleston for his government of New York.

That city, during his absence, had been exposed to a danger as unexpected as alarming. A winter, unequalled in that climate for its length and severity, had deprived New York and the adjoining islands of all the defensive benefits of their insular situation: the Hudson river, with the straits and channels by which they are divided and surrounded, were every where clothed with ice of such a strength and thickness, as would have admitted the passage of armies, with their heaviest carriages and artillery. This change, so suddenly wrought in the nature of the situation, caused the British commanders extreme disquietude; they feared the more for the safety of New York, as its garrison was then very feeble, and the army of Washington not far off. Accordingly, they neglected none of those prudential measures which are usual in similar cases: all orders of men in New York were embodied, armed and officered. The officers and crews of the frigates undertook the charge of a redoubt; and those of the transports, victuallers and merchantmen, were armed with pikes, for the defence of the wharfs and shipping. But Washington was in no condition to profit of this unlooked for event. The small army which remained with him huddled at Morristown, was inferior in

strength even to the British regular force at New York, exclusive of the armed inhabitants and militia. He sent Lord Sterling, it is true, to make an attempt upon Staten-Island, and to reconnoitre the ground; but that general, observing no movement in his favour on the part of the city, returned to his first position. Thus the scourge of short engagements, and the torpor which prevailed at that time amongst the Americans, caused them to lose the most propitious occasion that could have been desired, to strike a blow that would have sensibly affected the British power. If their weakness constrained them to inaction in the vicinity of New York, the English did not imitate their example. As soon as the return of spring had freed them from the danger they had apprehended during the season of ice, they renewed their predatory exploits in New Jersey. Their object in these excursions of devastation and plunder, was to favour the operations in Carolina, in order that the enemy, feeling insecure at various points, might carry succour to none.

About the beginning of June, and a few days previous to the return of general Clinton, the generals Knyphausen, Robertson and Tryon, who during his absence commanded the troops cantoned at New York, had entered New Jersey with a corps of five thousand men, and had occupied Elizabethtown: they conducted themselves there with generosity and abstained from all pillage. They afterwards advanced and took possession of Connecticut-Farms, a new and flourishing village. Irritated at the resistance they had experienced in their march, having been harassed incessantly by the country militia, who had risen

against them from all the neighbouring parts, they set fire to this place; only two houses escaped: even the church was a prey to the flames. This disaster was signalized by a deplorable event, which contributed not a little to redouble the indignation of the republicans against the royalists. Among the inhabitants of Connecticut-Farms was a young gentlewoman, as celebrated for her virtues as for the singular beauty of her person. Her husband, James Cadwell, was one of the most ardent and influential patriots in that province. He urged her, and resorted to the entreaties of friends to persuade her to withdraw from the danger: but trusting to her own innocence for protection, she awaited the invaders. She was surrounded by her little children, and near her a nursery maid held in her arms the youngest of her offspring. A furious soldier appeared at the window, a Hessian, as it is said: he took aim at this unfortunate mother, and pierced her breast with an instantly mortal shot: her blood gushed upon all her tender orphans. Other soldiers rushed into the house and set it on fire, after having hastened to bury their victim. Thus, at least, the republicans relate this horrible adventure. The English pretended that the shot had been fired at random, and even that it was discharged by the Americans, since it came from the part by which they retired. However the truth may be, the melancholy fate of this gentlewoman fired the breasts of the patriots with such rage, that they flew from every quarter to take vengeance upon the authors of so black a deed. The royal troops had put themselves on the march to seize a neighbouring town called Springfield. They had

nearly reached it, when they were informed that general Maxwell awaited them there, with a regiment of New Jersey regulars and a strong body of militia, impatient for combat. The English halted, and passed the night in that position. The next morning they fell back with precipitation upon Elisabethtown, whether their commanders thought it imprudent to attack an enemy who bore so menacing a countenance, or that they had received intelligence, as they published, that Washington had detached from Morristown a strong re-enforcement to Maxwell. The Americans pursued them with warmth, but to little purpose, from the valour and regularity displayed in their retreat.

At this conjuncture, general Clinton arrived at New York, and immediately adopted a plan from which he promised himself the most decisive success. His purpose was to dislodge Washington from the strong position he occupied in the mountainous and difficult country of Morrisania, which, forming a natural barrier, had furnished the American captain-general with an impregnable shelter against the attacks of the English, even when his force was the most reduced. Accordingly, Clinton having embarked a considerable body of troops at New York, executed such movements as made it appear that his design was to ascend the Hudson river, in order to seize the passes in the mountains towards the lakes. He had persuaded himself that Washington, as soon as he should be informed of this demonstration, would instantly put himself in motion, and in the fear of losing these passes, would advance with the whole or the greater part of his force, in order to

defend them. The British general intended to seize this occasion to push rapidly with the troops he had at Elisabethtown, against the heights of Morrisonia, and thus to occupy the positions which constituted the security of Washington. And, even on the supposition that their distance should render it unadvisable to maintain them, the destruction of the extensive magazines which the republicans had established there, offered a powerful attraction. Washington, in effect, who watched all the movements of Clinton, penetrated his designs. Fearing for West-Point and the important defiles of that part, he retained with him only the force indispensably requisite to defend the heights of Morrisonia, and detached the rest upon the banks of the Hudson, under general Greene. The royalists then marched with rapidity from Elisabethtown towards Springfield: This place is situated at the foot of the heights of Morrisonia, on the right bank of a stream that descends from them, and covers it in front. Colonel Angel guarded the bridge with a small detachment, but composed of picked men. Behind him the regiment of colonel Shrieve formed a second line, and ascending towards the heights near Shorts-Hill, were posted the corps of Greene, Maxwell and Stark. There were few continental troops, but the militia were numerous and full of ardour.

On arriving at the bridge, the royalists attacked colonel Angel with great impetuosity. He defended himself bravely, killing many of the enemy and losing few of his own. At length, yielding to number, he fell back in perfect order upon the second line. The English passed the bridge, and endeavoured to pursue their advantage. Shrieve resisted their ef-

forts for a while; but too inferior in men, and especially in artillery, he withdrew behind the corps of Greene. The English, then examining the situation of places, and the strength of the American intrenchments, abandoned the design of assaulting them. Perhaps the approach of night, the impracticable nature of the country, the obstinate defence of the bridge, the sight of the militia rushing towards the camp from all parts, and the danger of losing all communication with Elisabethtown, contributed to this abrupt change in the resolutions of the British generals. Exasperated at these unexpected obstacles, they devoted to pillage and flames the flourishing village of Springfield; they afterwards returned upon Elisabethtown. Enraged at seeing this conflagration, the republicans pursued the British troops with so much violence that only their discipline and the ability of their commanders could have saved them from total destruction. They profited of the cover of night to abandon the shores of New Jersey, and passed into Staten Island. Thus the design of Clinton was baffled by a resistance for which he was little prepared. The English gained by this expedition only the shame of repulse, and eternal detestation on the part of their enemies. Washington, in official reports, greatly commended the valour of his troops.

But it is time to resume our narrative of the affairs of Carolina. The English administration, which, after the conquest of that province, had been established by the royal troops, deliberated upon the means of repairing the evils caused by the war and by civil dissensions, in order to confirm the return of monar-

chical authority. Since that of the Congress had ceased to exist in the country, the paper currency had fallen into such discredit, that it was not possible to circulate it at any rate whatever. Many individuals had been forced to receive as reimbursement for credits of long standing those depreciated bills; others had balances still due them upon contracts stipulated according to the nominal value of the paper. It was resolved, therefore, to compel the debtors of the first to account with them by a new payment in specie, for the difference that existed between the real and the nominal value of the bills; and to establish a scale of proportion, according to which those who owed arrearages should satisfy their creditors in coined money. To this end, thirteen commissioners were appointed. They were to inform themselves with accuracy of the different degrees of the depreciation of the paper, and afterward to draw up a table of reduction, to serve as a legal regulation in the payment of the debts above specified. The commissioners proceeded in the execution of this difficult task with equal justice and discernment: they compared the price of the products of the country, during the circulation of the bills, with that they had borne a year before the war. Examining then the different rates of exchange of the bills for specie, they formed, not only year by year, but also month by month, a table, the first column of which contained the dates, the second the ratio of the value of the bills to that of specie, the third the ratio of the value of bills to the price of produce, and the fourth the proportional medium of depreciation. This extinction of the value of bills of credit, occasioned by the presence of the

English in Georgia and Carolina, induced those inhabitants who still held them to carry or to send them into other provinces, where they continued to have some circulation. But this influx itself, added to the loss of Carolina, and the sinister aspect which the situation of the affairs of Congress presented at this epoch, accelerated the fall of paper money in all the states of the confederation. Too well convinced that there was no remedy capable of arresting the progress of this appalling evil, the Congress determined to yield to the storm. They decreed that in future their bills should pass, no longer at their nominal, but only at their conventional value: and they also drew up a scale of depreciation for the regulation of payments. This resolution, which was assuredly a violation of the public faith, was, with the exception of dishonest debtors, both agreeable and advantageous to all classes. Can there, in fact, exist, for a nation, a greater calamity than to have a currency as the representative of money, when that currency is fixed by law, and variable in opinion? It is also to be considered that the bills of credit were then in the hands, not of the first, but of the last possessors, who had acquired them at their depreciated value. It was only to be regretted that the Congress had made so many solemn protestations of their intention to maintain the nominal value of their paper. Even the tenor of the bills, the terms of the law of their creation, all the public acts which related to them, were so many engagements that a dollar in paper should always be given and received for a dollar in silver. Scarcely were a few months elapsed since the Congress, in a circular letter, had spoken of the same resolution they

had now taken, as a measure of the most flagrant injustice. In that letter they affirm, that even the supposition of a similar breach of faith, ought to excite universal abhorrence. But such is the nature of new governments, especially in times of revolution, where affairs of state are so much under the control of chance, that they frequently promise what they cannot perform: the empire of circumstances seems to them a fair plea for not keeping faith. Their precarious position should render them at least less prodigal of promises and oaths: but, as inexperienced as presumptuous, and vainly believing their object attained, when they have found means to push on for a day, they seem the more bold in contracting engagements, the less it is in their power to fulfil them.

The proclamation by which the British commanders had absolved the prisoners of war from their parole, and restored them to the condition of British subjects, in order to compel them to join the royal troops, had created a deep discontent among the Carolinians. The greater part desired, since they had lost liberty, to remain at least in tranquillity at their homes, thus conforming themselves to the time, and submitting to necessity. If this repose had been granted them, they would not have exerted themselves to obtain a change; they would have supported less impatiently the unhappy situation of the republic; little by little they would have accustomed themselves to the new order of things, and would have forgotten the past. But this proclamation rekindled their rage. They cried with one voice: "if we must resume arms, let us rather fight for America and our friends, than for England and strangers!"

Many did as they said. Released from their parole, considering themselves at liberty to take arms anew, and determined to venture all to serve their cause, they repaired by circuitous and unfrequented ways into North Carolina, which was still occupied by the troops of Congress. Others continued to remain in the country, and in the condition of prisoners of war, deferring to take their resolution till the British officers should actually summon them to enter the field. The greater part, submitting to circumstances, could not decide to abandon their property, and withdraw into distant provinces, as some of their fellow citizens had done. In dread of the persecutions of the English, and even of their own countrymen, and desirous to win favour with their new masters, they had recourse to dissimulation. They preferred to change their condition, and from prisoners of war to become British subjects. This resolution appeared to them the more expedient, as a report was then in circulation, perhaps purposely forged, that the Congress were come to the determination no longer to dispute with the English the possession of the southern provinces. This rumour was directly opposite to the truth: for in the sitting of the twenty-fifth of June, the Congress had declared with much solemnity that they purposed to make every possible exertion for their recovery. But the prisoners of Carolina knew nothing of what passed without, and from day to day they became more confirmed in the idea that their country would remain under British domination. Thus, between choice and compulsion, the multitude resumed the bonds of submission. But the English could have wished to have all under their yoke; they saw with

pain that within as well as without the province, there remained some individuals devoted to the party of Congress. Their resentment dictated the most extraordinary measures against the property and families of those who had emigrated, and of those who had remained prisoners of war. The possessions of the first were sequestered and ravaged; their families were jealously watched and subjected, as rebels, to a thousand vexations. The second were often separated from their hearths, and confined in remote and unhealthy places. These rigours constrained some to retract, and bend the neck under the new slavery; others to offer themselves as good and loyal subjects of the king. Among them were found individuals who had manifested the most ardour for the cause of liberty, and who had even filled the first offices, under the popular government. They generally coloured their conversion with saying, that they had never aspired to independence, and that they abhorred the alliance of France. Thus men will rather stain themselves with falsehood and perjury, than live in misfortune and poverty! Such was the conduct of the inhabitants of the country: but those of the city, having by the terms of capitulation the right to remain in their habitations, were not comprehended in the proclamation of the third of June. It was requisite, therefore, to employ other means to induce them to stoop to allegiance. The English and more zealous loyalists manœuvred in such a manner, that more than two hundred citizens of Charleston subscribed and presented to the British generals an address, by which they congratulated them upon their victories. This step had been concerted. It was answered them,

that they should enjoy the protection of the state and all the privileges of British subjects, if they would sign a declaration of their allegiance and readiness to support the royal government. They obeyed: and their example had many imitators. Hence arose a distinction between subjects and prisoners. The first were protected, honoured and encouraged; the second were regarded with contempt, persecuted and harassed in their persons and property. Their estates in the country were loaded with taxes and even ravaged. Within the city they were refused access to the tribunals, if they had occasion to bring suits against their debtors; while on the other hand they were abandoned to all the prosecutions of their creditors. Thus forced to pay, they were not permitted to receive. They were not suffered to go out of the city without a pass, which was often refused them without motive, and they were even threatened with imprisonment unless they took the oath of allegiance. Their effects were given up to the pillage of the soldiery: their negroes were taken from them; they had no means of redress, but in yielding to what was exacted of them: while the claims of subjects were admitted without question. The artisans were allowed to labour, but not to exact payment for their work, if their customers chose to refuse it. The Jews had been permitted to purchase many valuable goods of the British traders who had followed the army: but unless they became subjects, they were not allowed to sell them. In brief, threats, fraud, and force, were industriously exercised to urge the inhabitants to violate their plighted faith, and resume their ancient chains. The greater part had recourse to dissimula-

tion, and by becoming subjects, were made partakers of British protection: others, more firm, or more virtuous, refused to bend. But they soon saw an unbridled soldiery sharing out their spoils: some were thrown into pestilential dungeons; others, less unfortunate or more prudent, condemned themselves to a voluntary exile.

Amidst the general desolation, the women of Carolina exhibited an example of more than masculine fortitude. They displayed so ardent, so rare a love of country, that scarcely could there be found in ancient or modern history an instance more worthy to excite surprise and admiration. Far from being offended at the name of rebel ladies, they esteemed it a title of distinction, and of glory. Instead of showing themselves in assemblies, the seat of joy and brilliant pleasures, they repaired on board ships, they descended into dungeons, where their husbands, children and friends were in confinement; they carried them consolations and encouragements. "Summon your magnanimity," they said, "yield not to the fury of tyrants; hesitate not to prefer prisons to infamy, death to servitude. America has fixed her eyes on her beloved defenders; you will reap, doubt it not, the fruit of your sufferings: they will produce liberty, that parent of all blessings: they will shelter her forever from the assaults of British banditti. You are the martyrs of a cause the most grateful to heaven, and sacred for men." By such words these generous women mitigated the miseries of the unhappy prisoners. They would never appear at the balls or routs that were given by the victors: those who consented to attend them were instantly despised, and dropped by all

the others. The moment an American officer arrived at Charleston as prisoner of war, they sought him out, and loaded him with attention and civilities. They often assembled in the most retired parts of their houses to deplore without restraint the misfortune of their country. Many of them imparted their noble spirit to their hesitating and wavering husbands: they determined them to prefer a rigorous exile to their interest and to the sweets of life. Exasperated at their constancy, the English condemned the most zealous to banishment and confiscation. In bidding a last farewell to their fathers, their children, their brothers, their husbands, these heroines, far from betraying the least mark of weakness, which in men might have been excused, exhorted them to arm themselves with intrepidity. They conjured them not to allow fortune to vanquish them, nor to suffer the love they bore their families to render them unmindful of all they owed their country. When comprehended, soon after, in the general decree of banishment issued against the partisans of liberty, they abandoned with the same firmness their natal soil. A supernatural alacrity seemed to animate them when they accompanied their husbands into distant countries, and even when they immured themselves with them in the fetid ships, into which they were inhumanly crowded. Reduced to the most frightful indigence, they were seen to beg bread for themselves and families. Among those who were nurtured in the lap of opulence, many passed suddenly from the most delicate and the most elegant style of living to the rudest toils, and to the humblest services. But humiliation could not triumph over their resolution

and cheerfulness: their example was a support to their companions in misfortune. To this heroism of the women of Carolina, it is principally to be imputed, that the love, and even the name of liberty were not totally extinguished in the southern provinces. The English hence began to be sensible, that their triumph was still far from being secure. For, in every affair of public interest, the general opinion never manifests itself with more energy than when women take part in it with all the life of their imagination. Less powerful as well as less stable than that of men when calm, it is far more vehement and pertinacious when roused and inflamed.

Such was the spectacle presented at that time in South Carolina; on the one hand, an open resistance to the will of the conqueror, or a feigned submission; on the other, measures that continually operated an effect directly contrary to that which their authors expected from them. Meanwhile, the heat of the season, the dubious state of the province itself, and the necessity of deferring the campaign until the harvest was over, occasioned an almost general suspension of arms. It was not possible for the English to think of the conquest of North Carolina before the last of August or the beginning of September. Lord Cornwallis resolved to canton his troops in such a manner, that they should be in readiness to support the loyalists, to repress the discontented, and to undertake the invasion of that province as soon as the proper season should arrive. He was particularly careful to collect provision and munitions of war. His principal magazines were established at Camden, a large village situated on the banks of the river

Wateree, and upon the road which leads into North Carolina.

He feared lest the loyalists of that province, stimulated by an excessive zeal, should break out before the time, which might involve their destruction. His emissaries continually exhorted them to await the time of harvest in tranquillity, and to content themselves with preparing subsistence for the royal troops, which would advance to their succour towards the month of September. These prudent counsels had not force to prevent the loyalists of Tryon county from rising at the instigation of colonel Moore. But instantly crushed by a corps of republicans, under the command of general Rutherford, they paid dearly for the contempt with which they had presumed to treat admonitions dictated by foresight. Eight hundred loyalists, however, under the conduct of colonel Bryan, made good their junction with the royal troops. But while the British generals were making their dispositions to profit of the favourable season to attack North Carolina, in order to open themselves a passage into the heart of Virginia, the Congress exerted all diligence to put themselves in a situation to recover South Carolina. Their efforts, as we shall see, were not without success. Thus the flames of war, for the moment almost extinguished, were on the point of being rekindled with more violence than ever.

Before entering upon the recital of the events of the bloody campaign that ensued, it is necessary to describe what passed in the West Indies between two powerful and equally spirited rivals. Already a very obstinate action had taken place between the Che-

valier de la Motte-Piquet and commodore Cornwallis, in the waters of La Grange, to the east of Cape Francois. The first had four ships, two of which of seventy-four guns, the *Annibal* and the *Diademe*. The other had only three, the heaviest of which was the *Lion*, of sixty-four guns. But this engagement was merely a prelude to the battles that followed shortly after. About the last of March, the Count de Guichen had arrived in the West Indies with such considerable re-enforcements, that the French fleet there amounted to twenty-five sail of the line. Resolved to profit of their superiority by sea as well as by land, the French embarked a strong body of troops, under the conduct of the Marquis de Bouille, and presented themselves with twenty-two ships of the line before the island of St. Lucia. Their intention was to carry it by assault. But general Vaughan, who commanded on shore, had neglected no measure of defence; and admiral Hyde Parker, who had repaired thither from the coasts of America, had so advantageously posted sixteen sail of the line at Gros-Islet, that the French commanders abandoned their project, and returned to Martinico. A few days after, admiral Rodney arrived at St. Lucia with re-enforcements from Europe: his junction with Parker placed at his command twenty-two sail of the line. Full of confidence in his strength, the English admiral sailed immediately for Fort-Royal bay in Martinico, in order to challenge his enemy to battle. But the count de Guichen, who was not disposed to engage a decisive action, except when he should judge it expedient, did not go out of the port. Rodney, having left some swift sailing frigates to watch

the motions of the French, and to give notice, in case they should sail, returned with the remainder of his fleet to St. Lucia. The count de Guichen did not remain long inactive. He put to sea, in the night of the thirteenth of April, with twenty-two sail of the line, and four thousand land troops, prepared to undertake any operation that should offer some hope of success. Rodney was soon advised of it, and sailed in quest of him: his fleet consisted of twenty ships of the line, and the Centurion of fifty guns. He commanded the centre himself, rear admiral Hyde Parker the van, and rear admiral Rowley the rear division. The French were standing through the channel of Dominica, intending afterwards to stretch off to windward of Martinico. Their van was under the conduct of the Chevalier de Sade, the main body was led by the commander in chief, the Count de Guichen, and the rear by the Count de Grasse. The two armaments came in sight of each other towards evening, on the sixteenth of April. The French, whose ships were incumbered with soldiers, and who found themselves under the wind, endeavoured to avoid an engagement. But the English bore down upon them. The Count de Guichen profited of the night to manœuvre so as not to be obliged to join battle; Rodney, on the contrary, in order to render it inevitable. On the succeeding morning, the two fleets executed various evolutions with admirable skill; and, a little before one o'clock, the French rear was brought to action by the British van. For it is to be observed, that in tacking to take an inverse order of battle, the French van was become rear. Meanwhile, Rodney arrived with his division upon

the French centre; his own ship, the Sandwich, of ninety guns, was encountered by M. de Guichen, in the Couronne, of eighty, and by his two seconds, the Fendant and Triumphant. But in crowding sail before the action, the French fleet had not been able to keep its distances perfectly. Its rear, moreover, which had become head of the line, being composed of more heavy sailing ships than those of the two other divisions, there had resulted thence a considerable chasm between that squadron and the centre. This separation was still increased by the drift of the Actionnaire, which, instead of standing, as the last vessel of the centre, the first of the rear, had suffered herself to fall to leeward of the line. Rodney resolved to seize the opportunity, and moved in order to cut off this rear-guard from the rest of the fleet. But the Destin, commanded by M. Dumaitz de Goimpy, being at the head of that division, threw herself across his way, and engaged the Sandwich with so much vigour as to arrest his passage. The French ship would have been crushed, however, by a force so greatly superior, if the Count de Guichen, perceiving the design of his adversary, had not made a signal to the ships of his centre to put about, and push, wind aft, all together, in order to rejoin and extricate the rear. This movement, executed with extreme celerity, completely baffled the plan of the British admiral, and, consequently, saved the French fleet from a total defeat. Rodney now finding himself exposed to have the blow he had meditated against his adversary retorted upon himself, recoiled instantly, and pressed to regain his place in the line with his other ships. Soon after he made his dispositions for re-

newing the action; but seeing the crippled condition of several of his ships, and the particularly dangerous state of the Sandwich, which was with difficulty kept above water, he thought it more prudent to desist. The count de Guichen drew off to refit; he afterwards touched at Guadaloupe in order to put ashore his sick and wounded. Rodney continued to manœuvre in the open sea for some days, and then returned to cruise off Fort-Royal bay, hoping to intercept the French fleet, which he believed was on its way for that anchorage. But at length, the enemy not appearing, and finding it necessary to disembark the sick and wounded, and to refit and water his fleet, he put into Choc-Bay, in St. Lucia. The loss of the British in this action, amounted to one hundred and twenty killed, and to three hundred and fifty-three wounded. Of the French, two hundred and twenty-one died, and five hundred and forty were wounded. Rodney, in the report of the battle which he sent to England, passed high encomiums on the talents and gallantry of the French admiral; and added, that he had been admirably seconded by his officers. This was an indirect reproach to his own; of whom, generally, he felt that he had much reason to complain. The two parties alike claimed the honour of victory, as it is usual in every combat, the issue of which is not decisive. After having repaired his ships, and taken aboard the troops under the command of the Marquis de Bouille, M. de Guichen again put to sea. His design was to ascend to windward of the Islands by the north of Guadaloupe, and then to disembark his land forces at Gros-Inlet, in St. Lucia. Apprized of this movement, Rodney immediately set

sail in search of the French fleet. He issued from the channel of St. Lucia, as it was standing off the extremity of Martinico, towards Point de Salines. At sight of the Britis' armament, the French admiral became sensible that he must abandon the attack of St. Lucia. His prudence is to be applauded in abstaining from coming to battle, although his position to windward of the enemy had placed it in his power: but he inclined first to secure the advantages which were offered him by the nature of those seas, and the direction of the wind. He manœuvred to retain the weather gage, and, at the same time, to draw the English to windward of Martinico. In case of a check, he had in that island a certain refuge, and if victor, he left none for his enemy. The British admiral laboured on his part to gain the wind, and continued to approach more and more. The hostile fleets had received each a re-enforcement of one ship of the line: the French, the *Dauphin-Royal*: the English, the *Triumph*. These evolutions, in which the two admirals displayed no ordinary degree of skill and judgment in seamanship, were prolonged for several days, and still Rodney had not been able to attain the object of his efforts. The French, whose ships were superior in point of sailing, to entice the English, as has been said, more to windward of Martinico, suffered themselves to be approached from time to time, and then suddenly spreading all sail, departed out of reach. This sport succeeded with them at first perfectly: but at length the French were nearly entangled into a general engagement, in a situation which presented more than one sort of peril; for their intention being to avoid it, they found themselves in no situa-

ble order for battle. The wind had gradually veered to the south. Vigilant to profit of this change, Rodney put his ships about, and pushed on the other tack to gain the wind upon the French. He would have effected his purpose, if the wind had not, in this critical moment, suddenly shifted to the south-east. The Count de Guichen could then also put himself on the other tack, which movement presented such a front to the English as no longer permitted them to gain the wind of him. He afterwards continued to retire in order to avoid an action. But in consequence of the last manœuvres, the two fleets being brought within cannon-shot of each other, the English pressed forward their van upon the French rear. It was already towards night-fall, on the fifteenth of May. The headmost of the British ships, and particularly the Albion, found themselves exposed unsupported to the fire of the whole French division, and were excessively damaged. The others rejoined them; but the French being better sailors, then retired. Such was the second rencounter between admiral Rodney and the count de Guichen. The French preserved the advantage of the wind. The two armaments continued in sight of each other during the three ensuing days, both manœuvring according to the plan of operations adopted by their respective admirals. Finally, in the morning of the nineteenth of May, the English being advanced to windward of Martinico about forty leagues, and distant between four and five, to the south-east, from the French, the count de Guichen determined to accept battle, and accordingly took in sail. But as soon as the British van was within reach, he made a sig-

nal for his own to bear down upon it, and the action was engaged with great spirit on both sides. The other divisions formed successively in order of battle, the French retaining the weather-gage. The conflict became general, the two fleets combating, the one with its starboard, the other with its larboard guns. But the ships of the French van and centre, having shortened sail in order to come to closer action with the enemy, it was to be feared lest the English should tack all at once in order to charge the rear, which was then at a considerable distance astern. To prevent the fatal consequences that might have ensued from such a movement on the part of the enemy, M. de Guichen put about himself, and proceeded to form again in a line with his rear. No manœuvre could have been more suitable to the conjuncture: if it had not been executed in season, the French admiral would have found himself in the most perilous predicament. A few moments after, nine British ships having tacked, advanced with a press of sail upon the French rear: but when they saw that the main body and van had rejoined it, and that the three divisions presented themselves in the best order, they resumed their station in their own line. Rodney rallied such ships as were dispersed, and again drew up his fleet in order of battle. The two armaments thus remained in presence until night, and even till the succeeding morning, but without renewing the engagement; they probably found that they had suffered too much in this and in the preceding action. Rodney sent the *Conqueror*, the *Cornwall* and the *Boyne*, which were the most damaged, to be repaired at St. Lucia, and set sail with the rest

of his fleet for Carlisle-Bay in the Island of Barbadoes. The Cornwall went to the bottom near the entrance of Carenage-Harbour. The Count de Guichen returned with his fleet to Fort-Royal bay, in Martinico. The loss of the English in these two last actions was sixty-eight killed and three hundred wounded. The French lost one hundred and fifty-eight killed and upwards of eight hundred wounded. Among the former were numbered many officers of distinction, and even the son of the Count de Guichen. The English also had to regret several officers of much reputation. Such was the result of the three battles fought between the French and English in the West Indies: their forces were nearly equal; their valour and skill were entirely so.

Here it may be observed, of what importance are the talents and experience of commanders to the event of combats, and to preserve nations from the most terrible reverses. For, it is evident, that if either of the two hostile admirals, in the course of the three days we have been describing, or during all those which they passed in observing each other, had committed a single fault, the defeat and ruin of his fleet must have been its inevitable consequence.

If hitherto the forces of France and of England had been pretty equally balanced in the West Indies, it was not long before the first acquired a decided superiority, by the junction of a Spanish squadron which arrived in those seas. Spain had conceived an ardent desire to acquire Jamaica; and the French as eagerly coveted the possession of the other islands which were still in the power of the enemy. If these objects had been attained, the English would have wit-

nessed the total extinction of their domination in the West Indies. With such views Don Joseph Solano had departed from Cadiz, about the middle of April, with twelve sail of the line and some frigates. This squadron escorted upwards of eighty transports, containing eleven thousand Spanish infantry, with a prodigious quantity of artillery and munitions of war; an armament as formidable as flourishing, and fitted, without question, to justify the hopes with which the allied courts had flattered themselves, particularly that of Madrid. Already Don Solano was well on his way across the Atlantic, shaping his course for Fort-Royal, in Martinico. It was there he purposed to make his junction with all the French forces. Rodney continued at anchor in Carlisle-Bay, attending to the health of his crews, recruiting his provisions and water, and refitting his ships. He had no mistrust of the storm that was about to burst upon him. But captain Mann, who was cruising at large with the frigate *Cerberus*, fell in with the Spanish convoy; aware of all the importance of the discovery, and feeling assured that his admiral would receive it well, he took upon himself to quit his cruise and return to the West Indies, in order to give the alarm. Upon this intelligence, Rodney put to sea with the least possible delay, for the purpose of meeting the Spanish squadron; confident of victory, if he could fall upon it before its union with the French fleet. Conjecturing with reason, that it was bound to Martinico, he awaited it upon the route usually taken by vessels destined for that island. His dispositions were very judicious; but the prudence and precautions of the Spanish admiral rendered them fruitless.

Without any intimation of the design of the English, and of the danger that menaced him, Don Solano, as if directed by a secret presentiment, instead of steering directly towards Fort-Royal, of Martinico, shaped his course more to the north on his right, and stood for the islands of Dominica and Guadaloupe. As soon as he was arrived in their vicinity, he detached a very swift-sailing frigate to the Count de Guichen, to request him to come out and join him. The French admiral issued with eighteen ships; and being informed that the English were cruising to windward of the Antilles, in order to avoid encountering them, he sailed under the lee of those islands. This voyage was so well conducted, that the two armaments came together between Dominica and Guadaloupe. Assuredly if all these forces, which greatly surpassed those of Rodney, could have been preserved entire, or if the allies had acted more in concert, they must have attained their object, namely, the absolute annihilation of the British power in the West Indies. But these forces, in appearance so formidable, bore within themselves the elements of their own destruction. The length of the passage, the want of fresh provision, the change of climate and the defect of cleanliness, had generated among the Spanish soldiers a contagious fever, which had spread with incredible rapidity, and made horrible ravages. Besides the deaths in the passage, the squadron had put ashore twelve hundred sick at Dominica, and at least an equal number at Guadaloupe and Martinico. The salubrity of the air, and that of the new diet on which they were put in those islands, did not, however, abate the fury of the pestilence: it swept off every

day the most valiant soldiers: it soon attacked also the French, though with less violence than the Spaniards. This unexpected scourge not only diminished the ardour of the allies, but also deprived them of great part of the means essential to the success of their enterprises: they were, moreover, thwarted by the clash of opinions. The Spaniards wanted to undertake in the first place the expedition of Jamaica, the French that of St. Lucia and the neighbouring islands. It followed, that all these projects miscarried alike. Compelled to relinquish the brilliant hopes with which they had flattered themselves, the allies re-embarked their troops, scarcely yet well recovered, and made sail in company towards the leeward islands. The Count de Guichen escorted the Spaniards into the waters of St. Domingo, and then leaving them to pursue their voyage, came to anchor at Cape-Francois. Here he made his junction with the squadron of M. de la Motte-Piquet, who had been stationed in that part for the protection of commerce. The Spaniards proceeded to the Havannah. At the news of the juncture of the allied fleets, Rodney repaired to Gros-Islet bay, in St. Lucia. But as soon as he was advised that they had sailed from Martinico, he profited of a re-enforcement of ships and troops that was arrived to him from England, under the conduct of commodore Walsingham, to put Jamaica in a respectable state of defence against the attacks of the allies. He kept the rest of his force at St. Lucia, to watch the motions of the enemy and cover the neighbouring islands. Thus vanished the high hopes which had been conceived in France as well as in Spain, from the formidable warlike appa-

tus directed against the British West Indies. This failure was less the fault of fortune than of that diversity of interests which too frequently produces a want of harmony between allies: they will not march together towards the same object, and disunited they cannot attain it.

The events we have been relating were succeeded, in the West Indies, by a sort of general truce between the two parties. But though the fury of men was suspended for a while, that of the elements broke out in a manner much more tremendous. It was now the month of October, and the inhabitants of the islands were in the enjoyment of that unexpected tranquillity which resulted from the cessation of arms, when their shores, and the seas that washed them, were assailed by so dreadful a tempest, that scarcely would there be found a similar example in the whole series of maritime records, however replete with shocking disasters and pitiable shipwrecks. If this fearful scourge fell with more or less violence upon all the islands of the West Indies, it no where raged with more destructive energy than in the flourishing island of Barbadoes. It was on the morning of the tenth that the tornado set in, and it hardly began to abate forty-eight hours after. The vessels that were moored in the port, where they considered themselves in safety, were wrenched from their anchors, lanced into the open sea, and abandoned to the mercy of the tempest. Nor was the condition of the inhabitants on shore less worthy of compassion. In the following night, the vehemence of the hurricane became yet more extreme: houses were demolished, trees uprooted, men and animals tossed hither

and thither, or overwhelmed by the ruins. The capital of the island was well nigh raised to a level with the ground. The mansion of the governor, the walls of which were three feet in thickness, was shaken to its foundations, and every moment threatened to crumble in ruins. Those within had hastened to barricade the doors and windows to resist the whirlwinds; all their efforts were of no avail. The doors were rent from their hinges, the bars and fastenings forced; and chasms started in the very walls. The governor with his family sought refuge in the subterraneous vaults: but they were soon driven from that shelter by the torrents of water that poured like a new deluge from the sky. They issued then into the open country, and with extreme difficulty and continual perils repaired under the covert of a mound, upon which the flag-staff was erected; but that mass being itself rocked by the excessive fury of the wind, the apprehension of being buried under the stones that were detached from it, compelled them again to remove, and to retire from all habitation. Happily for them they held together; for, without the mutual aid they lent each other, they must all inevitably have perished. After a long and toilsome march in the midst of ruins, they succeeded in gaining a battery, where they stretched themselves face downward on the ground, behind the carriages of the heaviest cannon, still a wretched and doubtful asylum, since those very carriages were continually put in motion by the impetuosity of the vortical gusts. The other houses of the city being less solid, had been prostrated before that of the governor, and their unhappy inhabitants wandered as chance directed dur-

ing that merciless night, without shelter and without succour. Many perished under the ruins of their dwellings; others were the victims of the sudden inundation; several were suffocated in the mire. The thickness of the darkness, the lurid fire of the lightning, the continual peal of the thunder, the horrible whistling of the winds and rain, the doleful cries of the dying, the despondent moans of those who were unable to succour them, the shrieks and wailings of women and children, all seemed to announce the destruction of the world. But the return of day presented to the view of the survivors a spectacle which the imagination scarcely dares to depict. This island, lately so rich, so flourishing, so covered with enchanting landscapes, appeared all of a sudden transformed into one of those polar regions where an eternal winter reigns. Not an edifice left standing; wrecks and ruins every where; every tree subverted; not an animal alive; the earth strown with their remains, intermingled with those of human beings: the very surface of the soil appeared no longer the same. Not merely the crops that were in prospect, and those already gathered, had been devoured by the hurricane: the gardens, the fields, those sources of the delight and opulence of the colonists, had ceased to exist. In their place were found deep sand, or steril clay; the enclosures had disappeared; the ditches were filled up, the roads cut with deep ravines. The dead amounted to some thousands: thus much is known, though the precise number is not ascertained. In effect, besides those whose fallen houses became their tombs, how many were swept away by the waves of the swoln sea and by the torrents, resem-

bling rivers, which gushed from the hills? The wind blew with a violence so unheard-of, that, if credit be given to the most solemn documents, a piece of cannon which threw twelve pound balls, was transported from one battery to another at more than three hundred yards distance. Much of what escaped the fury of the tempest fell a prey to the frantic violence of men. As soon as the gates of the prisons were burst, the criminals sallied forth, and joining the negroes, always prepared for nefarious deeds, they seemed to brave the wrath of heaven, and put every thing to sack and plunder. And perhaps the whites would have been all massacred; and the whole island consigned to perdition, if general Vaughan, who happened to be there at the time, had not watched over the public safety at the head of a body of regular troops. His cares were successful in saving a considerable quantity of provision, but for which resource the inhabitants would only have escaped the ravages of the hurricane, to be victims of the no less horrible scourge of famine. Nor should it be passed over in silence by a sincere friend of truth and honourable deeds, that the Spanish prisoners of war, at this time considerably numerous in Barbadoes, under the conduct of Don Pedro San Jago, did every thing that could be expected of brave and generous soldiers. Far from profiting of this calamitous conjuncture to abuse their liberty, they voluntarily encountered perils of every kind to succour the unfortunate islanders, who warmly acknowledged their services. The other islands, French as well as English, were not much less devastated than Barbadoes. At Jamaica, a violent earthquake added its horrors

to the rage of the tornado: the sea rose and overflowed its bounds with such impetuosity, that the inundation extended far into the interior of the island.

In consequence of the direction of the wind, the effects of the sea-flood were the most destructive in the districts of Hanover and Westmoreland. While the inhabitants of Savanna-la-Mer, a considerable village of Westmoreland, stood observing with dismay the extraordinary swell of the sea, the accumulated surge broke over them, and in an instant, men, animals, habitations, every thing was carried with it into the abyss. Not a vestige remained of that unhappy town. More than three hundred persons were thus swallowed up by the waves. The most fertile fields were left overspread with a deep stratum of steril sand. The most opulent families were reduced in a moment to the extreme of indigence. If the fate of those who found themselves on shore was deplorable beyond all expression, the condition of those who were upon the water was not less to be pitied. Some of the vessels were dashed upon shoals and breakers, others foundered in the open ocean, a few made their way good into port, but grievously battered and damaged. The tempest was not only fatal to ships under sail, it spared not even those that were at anchor in the securest havens. Some bilged in port, and many were drifted out to sea by the resistless fury of the billows. Among the first was the Thunderer of seventy-four guns, which sunk with all on board. Several frigates were so shattered that they were not thought worth repairing. The English had to regret, in all, one ship of seventy-four, two of sixty-four, and one of fifty guns, besides seven or eight frigates.

Amidst so many disasters, they found, at least, some succour in the humanity of the Marquis de Bouille. A number of English sailors, the wretched relics of the crews of the *Laurel* and *Andromeda*, wrecked upon the coasts of Martinico, fell into the power of that general. He sent them free to St. Lucia, saying that he would not treat as prisoners men who had escaped the rage of the elements. He expressed a hope that the English would exercise the same generosity towards those Frenchmen whom a similar destiny might have delivered into their power. He testified his regrets that he had only been able to save so few of the English seamen, and that among them there was not a single officer. He concluded with observing that, as the calamity had been common and general, humanity should be extended alike towards all its victims. The merchants of Kingston, the capital of Jamaica, animated by the most honourable social sentiments, immediately made a subscription of ten thousand pounds sterling for the relief of the sufferers. The parliament, as soon as it was apprized of this catastrophe, voted, notwithstanding the pressure of the expenses of the war, a donation of eighty thousand pounds sterling to the inhabitants of Barbadoes, and another of forty thousand to those of Jamaica. Nor was public munificence the only source of their succours: a great number of private citizens likewise contributed largely to alleviate the distresses of these unfortunate West Indians.

The fleet of the Count de Guichen and that of admiral Rodney, were not exposed to the hurricane. The first was already departed for Europe, in the month of August, escorting, with fourteen sail of the

line, a rich and numerous fleet of merchantmen. In consequence of his departure, and in ignorance of his designs, Rodney, to whom moreover, the Spanish troops landed at the Havannah gave no little disquietude, detached a part of his force to cover Jamaica, and made sail with the rest for New York. But before he reached the American continent, and even before he departed from the West Indies, there had happened a surprising revolution in public affairs, of which we shall give an account in due time. While men were engaged in so fierce a war upon the continent, and in the Islands of America, while they had to combat there the fury of the elements, the belligerent powers were far from remaining inactive in Europe. Greater unity was observable in the counsels of England: but, however excellent her marine, it was inferior in force to that of the allied courts. These, on the other hand, had more ships and more soldiers; but often directed towards very different objects, by opposite interests, they did not obtain the success to which they might have aspired. Thus, for example, the Spaniards, always principally aiming at the conquest of Gibraltar, assembled their forces and lavished their treasure at the foot of that fortress. From the same motive they kept their ships in the port of Cadiz, instead of joining them with those of France, and attempting in concert to strike a decisive blow at the British power. It followed that France was obliged to send her squadrons into that same port; and, meanwhile, the British fleets were blockading her atlantic ports, intercepting her commerce, capturing her convoys, and the frigates that escorted them.

Admiral Geary, who, on the death of Sir Charles Hardy, had been appointed to the command of the Channel fleet, had put to sea with about thirty sail of the line. He fell in, the third of July, with a fleet of French merchantmen, loaded with cochineal, sugar, coffee and cotton, under the guard of the ship of war *Le Fier*, of fifty guns. The English gave chase and captured twelve sail, and probably would have swept the whole convoy, but for a thick fog and the great proximity of the coasts of France: the rest made their ports in safety. Several other French ships, and even some frigates, fell, a short time after, into the power of the English, but not without a gallant resistance. As we cannot go into a narrative of all the encounters that took place, we will not however omit the name at least of the Chevalier de Kergarion, captain of the *Belle-Poule*, who with that frigate, of only thirty-two guns, defended himself a long time against the *Nonesuch* man of war of sixty-four, commanded by James Wallace. Nor was it till after the death of the intrepid Kergarion that his successor, M. de la Motte-Tabouret, yielded to the necessity of striking his colours: his frigate was completely dismasted; the greater part of the crew had perished.

The allies made themselves ample amends for these losses on the ninth of August. Towards the latter end of July, a numerous fleet of king's ships and merchantmen, had set sail from the ports of England for the two Indies. Five of the first, besides much of munitions of war, arms and artillery, were loaded with an immense quantity of rigging for the use of the British fleet, stationed in those distant seas. Eighteen others were either victualling

ships, or transports carrying military stores, and recruits to re-enforce the army of America. The others were vessels of commerce, whose cargoes were extremely valuable. This fleet was escorted by the *Romulus* ship of the line, and three frigates. It was pursuing its voyage, having in sight, at a great distance, the coasts of Spain, when, in the night of the eighth of August, it fell into the midst of a squadron of the combined fleet, which was cruising upon the accustomed route of ships destined for the East or West Indies. The hostile squadron was commanded by admiral Don Lewis de Cordova. The English mistook his lanterns at mast-head for those of their own commander, and steered accordingly. At break of day, they found themselves intermingled with the Spanish fleet. Don Cordova enveloped them, and shifted the crews of sixty vessels: the ships of war escaped him. His return to Cadiz was a real triumph. The people flocked to behold the prisoners, and this rich booty; a spectacle the more grateful for being uncommon, and little expected. Near three thousand prisoners were put ashore, of every condition, and of every age. Of this number were sixteen hundred sailors, a heavy loss for England, and passengers not a few. The English even regretted much less the cargoes of commercial articles than the munitions of war, of which their armies and fleets in both Indies experienced the most pressing need. So brilliant a success was received by the Spanish nation with infinite exultation. The news of it spread, on the contrary, a sort of consternation in Great Britain. The ministers found themselves the object of the bitterest reproaches: the

public voice accused them of temerity. "They knew, it was exclaimed, that the allies had a formidable force at Cadiz; why did they not direct the convoy to avoid the coasts of Spain?"

The events of maritime war did not divert attention from the siege of Gibraltar. Spain, as we have already seen, attached an extreme importance to the conquest of this place. She appeared to make it the capital object of the war, and the aim of all her efforts. It must be admitted, in effect, that, apart from all political considerations, so powerful a monarch could not have seen without indignation, a fortress upon his own territory possessed by foreigners, who from its summit appeared to set him at defiance. Gibraltar revived the history of Calais, which had also long appertained to England, but which the French at length recovered: the Spaniards promised themselves the like good fortune. Accordingly, after that place had been revictualled by Rodney, the Spanish admiral Don Barcelo exerted all his vigilance to prevent its receiving any fresh succours. On the other hand, general Mendoza, who commanded the troops on shore, endeavoured to press the fortress on the land side. He daily added new works to his camp of St. Roch, and pushed his approaches with all possible diligence. But whatever was the assiduity and ability of the Spanish commanders, they were so thwarted by the instability of the winds and sea, and the British officers displayed so much talent and activity, that, from time to time, victualing transports found their way into the place. The garrison forgot their sufferings, and resumed courage, while the Spaniards could but gnash at seeing the

resistance protracted so long beyond their confident expectations.

The efforts of the garrison were powerfully seconded by some ships of war which admiral Rodney had left in the port; one of this number was the Panther of seventy-four guns. To remove so troublesome an obstacle, the Spaniards formed a design to burn this squadron with the transport vessels at anchor behind it. They hoped even to involve in the conflagration the immense magazines of munitions which had been constructed upon the shore. They prepared for this purpose seven fire ships, which were to be accompanied by an immense number of armed gallies and boats. Don Barcelo advanced his fleet, and formed it in line of battle across the mouth of the harbour, as well to direct and second the attack, as to intercept any vessel that should attempt to escape. On the side of the land, Don Mendoza held himself in readiness to menace the garrison upon all points; he was to commence the most vigorous bombardment as soon as the fire should break out on board the British squadron. The night of the sixth of June was chosen for the enterprise. The darkness, the wind and the tide, were alike propitious. The English manifested a perfect security. The fire ships advanced, and every thing promised success, when the Spaniards, either through impatience, or, from the extreme obscurity of the night, misjudging their distance, or else not wishing to approach nearer, applied the fire with too much precipitation. This unexpected sight apprized the English of their danger. Immediately, without terror and without confusion, officers and

soldiers throw themselves into boats, intrepidly approach the fire ships, make fast to them, and tow them off to places where they can do no mischief. The Spaniards, after this fruitless attempt, withdrew.

Meanwhile, Don Mendoza busied himself with unremitting ardour in urging the labours of his lines. General Elliot, to whom the king of England had confided the defence of the place, suffered his adversary to go on: but when he saw his works well nigh completed, he opened upon them so violent a cannonade, that in a short time he demolished and ruined them entirely. He also made frequent sallies, in which he filled up the trenches and spiked the artillery of the besiegers. The English became daily more confident, the Spaniards, on the contrary, seemed less animated and sanguine. Chagrined that a handful of men, since the garrison of Gibraltar, including officers, did not exceed six thousand combatants, should not only presume to resist them, but even to attack them with success, they had recourse to an expedient, which at length rendered the defence of the place exceedingly difficult and perilous, and finally operated the total destruction of the city; and that was, to construct an immense number of craft, which they called gun-boats. Their burthen was from thirty to forty tons, and their crew from forty to fifty men: they were armed at the prow with a twenty-six pounder: others mounted mortars. Besides a large sail, they had fifteen oars on each side. As they were easily worked, it was intended to employ them to overwhelm the town and forts with bombs and balls during the nights, and even, if the opportunity should present itself, to attack the frigates. It

was believed that two of these gun-boats might engage a frigate with advantage, because of their little elevation above the water, and the diminutive scope they afforded to the balls of the enemy. The governor of Gibraltar, not having a similar flotilla at his disposal, it became almost impossible for him to avoid its effects. The Spaniards were sensible of it, and this consideration revived their ardour, and re-animated their hopes.

While the arms of England prevailed upon the American continent; while those of the two ancient rivals balanced each other in the West Indies, and the war was carried on in Europe with such variety of success that it was singularly difficult to conjecture what would be the issue of the mighty struggle, the situation of affairs in the United Provinces, which had hitherto offered only doubt and incertitude, began to assume a less ambiguous aspect. It seemed to have been decreed by destiny, that the quarrel of America should shake the whole globe. The coalition of the arms of Holland with those of the Bourbons and of the Congress, seemed to consummate the formidable league that was to level the last stroke at the British power. From the very commencement of the troubles of America, her cause had found many more partisans in Holland than that of England. Many motives concurred to this disposition of minds: the political opinions which obtained generally in Europe; the persuasion that prevailed among the Hollanders that the interests of protestantism were inseparable from this discussion; the apprehension entertained by the dissenters of the usurpations, real or supposed, of the church of England; and, fi-

nally, the similarity of the present condition of the Americans to that in which the United Provinces found themselves in the time of their wars against Spain. It is, therefore, not to be wondered at if the French party in Holland gained every day upon the English party. It is also to be observed, that even those most attached to the latter party by the remembrance of ancient friendship, by the community of commercial predilections, and by the apprehension of the evil that France might do them in future, were among the most forward to condemn the policy pursued by the British government towards its colonies. They censured it the more sincerely, as they foresaw that one of its inevitable consequences would be to interrupt the good understanding they wished to preserve, and to confirm the ascendancy of French politics in Holland. To these considerations should be added, the jealousy that existed of the power of the Stadholder, allied by consanguinity to the king of England, it was feared lest that monarch might lend him support to accomplish the usurpations he meditated, or was suspected of meditating. The republicans, therefore, were not without anxious apprehensions respecting the intentions of the British government. They dreaded the dark reach of its policy; they shuddered in thinking that it might one day subject them by the hand of the Stadholder to that same destiny which it was now striving to entail on America. Every day these sinister images were presented to all eyes: they had a powerful influence on public opinion. Of the seven United Provinces, that which inclined the most decidedly for France was by far the most wealthy and powerful, Holland.

The first of the cities of the republic, Amsterdam, manifested the same sentiments. To foment these dispositions, and to draw other provinces and other cities into the same way of thinking, the French government had recourse to the agency of that love of gain, whose empire is particularly so despotic with those who devote themselves to commerce. It declared that it would cause to be seized upon sea every Dutch vessel found employed in any sort of trade with Great Britain, those only excepted which belonged to the cities of Amsterdam and Harlem. The effect of this measure was, that several important cities, among others Rotterdam and Dordrecht, had gone over to France, in order to participate in the privileges she granted.

It was already two years since from this complication of different interests, there had resulted a standing negotiation, at Aix-la-Chapelle, between John Neuville, acting in the name of the pensioner Van Berkel, a declared partisan of France, and William Lee, commissioner on the part of Congress. Van Berkel, as chief of the government of the city of Amsterdam, succeeded, after many and lengthy discussions, in bringing about a treaty of amity and commerce between that city and the United States of America. This treaty, it was said, was merely eventual, since it was not to take effect until the independence of the colonies should have been acknowledged by England. But was it not a recognition of that independence as already absolute, to negotiate and treat with the United States? The treaty, it is true, had only been concluded with the single city of Amsterdam; but it was hoped that the preponderance of

that capital in the province of Holland would easily draw after it the rest of that province, and that the example of Holland would guide the other six.

These negotiations were conducted with so much secrecy, that no whisper of them had reached England. But the Congress, ardently desirous that the result of these mysterious stipulations should be as public as possible, appointed to this effect their president Laurens minister plenipotentiary to the States General. This resolution was the more readily adopted, since it was not doubted in America, and the correctness of the opinion was demonstrated by the event, that the Dutch were exasperated to the last degree by the insulting shackles which England attempted to impose on their commerce with France, and especially by that intolerable seizure of the convoy of the Count de Byland. Far from attempting to palliate these outrages, and to appease discontents, M. York, ambassador of the king of England at the Hague, had just delivered the States General a memorial, framed in so arrogant a style, that it was universally considered as offensive to the dignity of a free and independent nation.

But fortune, who seems to make her sport of the best concerted projects, willed that those of the Hollanders should come to the knowledge of the British ministers before they could receive their accomplishment. No sooner was Laurens departed from the American shores, than he was encountered and captured off Newfoundland, by the British frigate *Vestal*. At sight of the enemy, he had thrown all his papers overboard; but by the celerity and dexterity of a British sailor, they were rescued from the water before

they were materially injured. Laurens was carried to London, and shut up in the Tower as a state prisoner. Among his papers, the British ministers found the treaty above-mentioned, and some letters relative to the negotiations at Aix-la-Chapelle. Forthwith, M. York exploded violently at the Hague. He required the States General in the name of his master, not only to disavow the doings of the pensioner Van Berkel, but also to make instant reparation to his Brittanic majesty, by the exemplary punishment of that magistrate and his accomplices, as perturbators of the public peace, and violators of the laws of nations. The States General withholding their answer, the British Envoy renewed his instances with excessive fervour; but the Dutch government either from its reluctance to drop the mask at present, or merely from the accustomed tardiness of its deliberations, signified to York that the affair should be taken under serious consideration. The States General were disposed to gain time to recall into their ports the rich cargoes they had afloat upon the ocean, or which, in the security of a long peace, had been warehoused in their islands.

On the other hand, the British ministers, goaded by impatience to lay hand upon those riches, and little disposed to allow the Dutch sufficient leisure to make the necessary war-preparations, pretended not to be at all satisfied with the answer of the States General. They recalled the Ambassador at the Hague immediately. A little after, there followed on both sides the usual declarations. Thus were dissolved all those relations of good understanding,

which had so long existed between two nations connected by reciprocal congenialities, and by many and important common interests. This new enemy was the more to be apprehended for England, as his dexterity in maritime war was rendered more formidable by his proximity. But on the one hand pride, perhaps necessary to a powerful state, and the thirst of conquest, always blameable and never satisfied; on the other, intestine dissensions, and the debility of land force, which inspired more dread of continental neighbours than could well comport with independence, precipitated Great Britain and Holland into a war decidedly and openly condemned by all sound statesmen.

It is time to remand our attention upon the American continent. After the capture of Charleston and invasion of South Carolina, a great and astonishing change was wrought in the minds of the colonists. Their salvation resulted from those very causes which seemed to prognosticate an impending perdition. So true it is that the spur of adversity forces men to exert for their own interests, efforts to which the sweets of prosperity cannot decide them! Never was this truth better exemplified than in the present conjuncture; the reverses of Carolina, far from having dejected the Americans, developed in them on the contrary a courage more active, and a constancy more pertinacious. They could no longer be reproached with that torpor which they had manifested in the preceding years, with that apathy which had been the source of so much pain to their chiefs, as of such heavy disasters to the republic. A new ardour inflamed every heart to fly to the succour of country;

there seemed a rivalry for the glory of immolating all to the republic: things looked as if the first days of the revolution were come back, when the same spirit and the same zeal broke out on all parts against England. Every where private interests were postponed to the public weal; every where it was exclaimed "let us drive this cruel enemy from the most fertile provinces of the union; let us fly to the succour of their inhabitants; let us crush the satellites of England that have some how escaped American steel, and terminate at a single blow a war protracted too long." Thus ill-fortune had again tempered the souls of this people, at the very moment when they were supposed the victims of dejection and despair. Their fury was still quickened by the devastations which the royal troops had recently committed in Carolina and New Jersey. Their hope became confidence, on observing that the consequences of the reduction of Charleston had been to divide the enemy's forces, and to distribute them at so great distances, that they might be attacked at every point with assurance of success. And how were these hopes multiplied by the authentic advice of the approaching arrival of French succours! Already a great number of Americans counted the conquest of New York as a compensation of the occupation of Charleston.

The Marquis de la Fayette was in effect just returned from France, whence he had brought the most cheering intelligence. He announced that the troops were already embarked, and the ships that bore them on the point of getting under sail for America. This report might be depended on. The

Marquis de la Fayette had ascertained it with his own eyes after having exerted himself with much zeal to accelerate the preparatives of the expedition. He was warmly thanked for it by Washington and the Congress. His presence was grateful to the American people; it redoubled, especially, the ardour of the soldiers, who mutually incited, one the other, to show themselves not unworthy of the allies they expected. They declared aloud that an eternal reproach would be their portion, if through a base apathy they should lose the glorious occasion about to be offered them in this powerful co-operation of France. They reminded each other that the eyes of all Europe were upon them, and that on the issue of the present campaign depended the liberty, the glory, the future destiny of the American Republic. The Congress, all the established authorities, and even private citizens of weight with the multitude dexterously profited of this new enthusiasm; they neglected no means that could cherish and propagate it. The Congress addressed circular letters to all the states earnestly exhorting them to complete the regiments, and despatch to the army the contingent that each of them was bound to furnish. These instances were strongly seconded by generals Washington, Reed, and other influential chiefs.

Their efforts had all the success desirable. The militia had recovered their spirits, and they rejoined their colours from all quarters. The authority of Congress revived on every side, and acquired new vigour. Sensible to the wants of the state, the capitalists subscribed with promptitude considerable sums to the relief of the public treasure, the exhaustion of

which was then extreme. The city of Philadelphia first gave the example of these sacrifices: it was not unfruitful. It was soon followed by all Pennsylvania and the other provinces. The ladies of Philadelphia, animated by the most ardent patriotism, formed a society, and placed at their head Mistress Washington, a wife worthy of such a husband. After having subscribed for the use of the state to the extent of their means, they went from house to house to stimulate the liberality of the citizens in favour of the republic. Their zeal was not steril; they collected large sums which they lodged in the public chest, to be used in bounties to such soldiers as should merit them, and in augmentation of pay to all. They were imitated with enthusiasm by the ladies of the other states. But among all the institutions that signalized this epoch, none is more worthy of attention, than the establishment of a public bank. The funds lodged in it by the stockholders, by lenders and by Congress, might be employed to defray the army. The Congress found herein not only a great facility on the part of the most wealthy commercial houses of Philadelphia, but even received from them the most generous offers. The subscribers obligated themselves to furnish a capital of three hundred thousand pounds Pennsylvania currency, which rates the Spanish dollar at seven shillings and six pence. It was to have two directors, with authority to borrow money upon the credit of the bank for six months, or any shorter time, and to give the lenders bills bearing an interest of six per cent. The bank was to receive the deposits of Congress; that is the public revenue accruing from taxes or other sources;

but when these deposits and the funds borrowed should not suffice, the stockholders were bound to furnish such proportion as should be deemed necessary, of the sums for which they might have subscribed. The sums obtained in the different ways above mentioned, were not to be employed for any other purpose but that of procuring supplies for the troops. The stockholders were to appoint an agent, whose office it should be to make purchases, and to transmit the articles bought, such as meat, flour, rum, etc., to the commander-in-chief, or to the minister of war: this agent should have authority to draw upon the directors for his payments. The said agent was also to keep open a store well stocked with rum, sugar, coffee, salt and other articles of general consumption, with obligation to sell them by retail at the same price he should have bought them for in quantity of those with whom he should have contracted for the supplies of the army, with a view of being more promptly and better served by those contractors. Although out of the bank, few lenders presented themselves, because the greater part before advancing their money, would have wished more stability in the state, yet subscribers were soon found for a capital of three hundred and fifteen thousand pounds of Pennsylvania. Each of them gave their written obligation to furnish the directors a definite sum in gold or silver coin. Thus, private citizens, prompted by the most laudable zeal for their country, stepped forward to support the public credit with their personal responsibility: a conduct the more worthy of encomium, as the situation of affairs still offered but too many motives of doubt and distrust.

Could it have been imagined, however, that at the very moment when a victorious enemy still threatened the existence of their infant republic, the Americans did not rest content with offering their blood and their treasure for its defence? Amidst the din of arms, they were studious to accelerate the advancement of philosophy, science and the arts. They reflected that without the succour of these lights, war tends directly to barbarism, and even peace is deprived of its most precious sweets. In devoting themselves to these noble cares, they regarded not merely the advantages that were thence to redound for the greater civilization of their country; they had also in view to demonstrate at home and abroad, by this profound security, in the midst of so many agitations, what was their contempt for the danger, and their confidence in the success of their enterprise. Such were the considerations under which the state of Massachusetts founded at Boston a society, or academy of arts and sciences. Its statutes corresponded to the importance of the institution. Its labours were principally directed to facilitate and encourage a knowledge of the antiquities and natural history of America; to ascertain the uses to which its native productions might be applied: to promote medical discoveries, mathematical inquiries, physical researches and experiments, astronomical, meteorological and geographical observations; improvements in the processes of agriculture, arts, manufactures and commerce; the academy was, in brief, to cultivate every art and science that could tend to advance, according to its own language, “the interests, the honour, the dignity, and the happiness of a free, inde-

pendent and virtuous people." On the fourth of July, after having celebrated with the greatest solemnity the anniversary of independence, the president of Congress, the governor of the state of Pennsylvania and the other authorities, both of the city and province, as also the Chevalier de la Luzerne, the minister of France, repaired with no ordinary pomp to the University, to attend the collation of degrees. The director of the studies delivered an address well suited to the occasion. The generous spirit of the students was fired with new ardour for their country; all the audience shared their enthusiasm, and drew from it the most felicitous presages. It was amidst this general display of zeal and efforts to proceed with honour in the chosen career, that the succours sent by France to the support of her allies, made their appearance at Rhode Island. At this sight, transports of exultation burst forth throughout the American continent. They consisted of a squadron of seven sail of the line, among which was the *Duc de Bourgogne*, of eighty-four guns, with five frigates and two corvettes, under the conduct of *M. de Ternay*. This force convoyed a great number of transports, which brought six thousand soldiers, at the orders of the Count de Rochambeau, lieutenant-general of the armies of the king. According to an agreement made between the court of Versailles and the Congress, Washington, as captain-general, was to command in chief all the troops, as well French as American. The king of France had created him, to this intent, lieutenant-general of his armies, and vice admiral of his fleets. The inhabitants of Newport celebrated the arrival of the French by a general il-

lumination. General Heath received them with every mark of welcome and courtesy.

It being rumoured at that time that Clinton meditated an attack upon Rhode-Island, the French troops were put in possession of all the forts. They fortified themselves therein with so much diligence, that in a short time they were in a situation to defy the efforts of any enemy whatsoever.

The general assembly of the state of Rhode Island sent a deputation to compliment the general of his most christian majesty. They said many things of the profound acknowledgement of America towards that generous monarch. They promised on their part every sort of aid and succour. The Count de Rochambeau answered them that the corps he had brought was merely the van-guard of the army which the king his master was about to send to their assistance. That his majesty sincerely wished the liberty and happiness of America, and that his troops should observe an exemplary discipline among those whom they were to regard in the light of kindred. He concluded with saying, that as brothers, he himself, his officers, and all his people had voluntarily devoted their lives to the service of the Americans.

The presence and promises of the French general inspired all hearts with courage and with hope: but the partisans that England had preserved in the country were forced to disguise their rage. Washington, the more to cement the union of the two nations, ordered that in the banners of his army, the ground of black, which is the colour of America, should be surrounded with white, the distinctive colour of France.

At this epoch, Admiral Arbuthnot who still occupied the New York station, had with him only four ships of the line; and, far from contemplating an attack, was himself in dread of being attacked. A few days after, however, admiral Graves arrived from England with six other sail of the line. This superiority of force decided the English to undertake an expedition against Rhode Island. Admiral Graves repaired thither first with his squadron to see if any mean would offer itself to destroy that of the enemy in the very harbour of Newport; but the French had made such imposing preparations of defence that, without temerity, nothing could be attempted against them. The British squadron made the best of its way back to New York. Meanwhile, general Clinton, being resolutely determined not to suffer the French to establish themselves on a permanent footing in that part, formed a design to attack Rhode Island with a picked corps of six thousand men, that should disembark at some point the most favourable to the enterprise. The admiral gave into the plan, although to his private judgment it presented little probability of success. The British squadron got under sail, and already it had proceeded as far as Huntingdon-Bay, in Long Island, when Washington, who watched all the movements of his adversary, began to stir. Seeing general Clinton advance with so considerable a corps, and finding himself, thanks to fresh re-enforcements, at the head of twelve thousand men, he descended by forced marches along the banks of the Hudson. Arrived at Kings-Bridge, he menaced to carry even the city of New York, then disgarnished, and exposed almost without defence

to a coup-de-main. On the other hand, the militia of New England had run to arms, panting to give the French in the outset a high notion of their force and of their zeal. Already ten thousand men were on the march towards Providence, and a still greater number were preparing to follow them. The British generals were not long in being apprized of all these movements, and found themselves still more divided in opinion than before. These motives combined, determined Clinton to relinquish his projects: he returned without delay to New York with all his forces. The timidity manifested by the English in this occurrence was a fresh spur to the ardour of the Americans. They already considered the garrison of New York as vanquished, and within their grasp. They had, moreover, a particular subject of encouragement. The French that were arrived in Rhode Island, had brought an immense quantity of the coined money of their country. According to the custom of the military of their nation, they never lost any occasion of spending it to the last crown. It followed that in a short time French specie became so common in the United States as to restore some vigour to the body politic, which, from the exhaustion of its finances, was become languid to a point even almost threatening an absolute dissolution. The bills of credit, it is true, experienced an increase of depression; but this evil excited no alarm. For a long time, this paper had lost all confidence, and the state soon after relieved itself of it altogether; as will be seen in the sequel of this history.

The various causes we have noticed, had generally infused new life into the Americans of the different

states; but it is to be observed that they operated with more efficacy on the inhabitants of the southern provinces. These were more immediately exposed to danger, and they had besides, peculiar motives for detesting the insolence of the English. Accordingly, as soon as the occasion was offered them, they assembled upon different points of North Carolina, and upon the extreme frontier of South Carolina. These assemblages, commanded by audacious chiefs, gave no little annoyance to the royal troops. They insulted their posts, and sometimes, even carried them. But among all the officers who distinguished themselves at the head of these desultory parties, none appeared with more splendour than colonel Sumpter. Born himself in South Carolina, his personal importance, military talents and prowess, had rendered him there an object of general consideration. The greater part of those Carolinians whom their aversion to British domination had induced to fly from their homes, had hastened to place themselves under the standard of their intrepid fellow citizen. They were already sufficiently numerous to keep the field, and to menace the enemy upon all points. They had no pay, no uniforms, nor even any certain means of subsistence; they lived upon what chance, or their own courage provided them. They experienced even a want of arms and munitions of war: but they made themselves rude weapons from the implements of husbandry; instead of balls of lead, they cast them of pewter, with the dishes which the patriots cheerfully gave them for that purpose. These resources, however, were very far from sufficing them. They were seen, several

times, to encounter the enemy with only three charges of ammunition to a man. While the combat was engaged, some of those who were destitute of arms or ammunition kept themselves aside, waiting till the death or wounds of their companions should permit them to take their place. The most precious fruit, to their eyes, of the advantages they gained over the English, was that of being enabled to acquire muskets and cartridges at the expense of the vanquished. At length, colonel Sumpter, finding himself at the head of a numerous corps, attacked one of the most important positions of the enemy, at Rocky-Mount. He was repulsed, but not discouraged. Never giving repose either to himself or to his adversaries, he fell, a short time after, upon another British post, at Hanging-Rock, and put to the edge of the sword all that defended it, regulars and loyalists. He subjected to a similar fate colonel Bryan, who was come from North Carolina with a body of loyalists of that province. Infesting the enemy upon all points at once, he eluded all their efforts to quell him. His invincible courage and perfect knowledge of the country, offered him continually new resources. As rapid in his attacks as industrious in his retreats, victor or vanquished, he escaped all the snares of his foes. Colonel Williams served no less usefully the same cause, at the head of a light detachment of Carolinians of the district of Ninety-Six. In one of his frequent excursions he surprised and cut in pieces a body of loyalists on the banks of the river Ennoree. This partisan war had the double advantage of restoring confidence to the Americans, of continually mining the forces of the English,

and of supporting the party of Congress in these provinces. These smart skirmishes were only, however, the prelude of the bloody battles that were about to ensue between the principal armies.

As soon as Washington was first apprized of the siege of Charleston, he had put on the march towards South Carolina a re-enforcement of fourteen hundred continental troops of Maryland and of Delaware, under the conduct of the Baron de Kalb. That officer displayed great activity in the execution of his orders, and, if it had been possible for him to gain the point of his destination, it is probable that things would have taken another direction. But the defect of provision, the difficulty of places, and the excessive heat of the season, opposed him with such and so many impediments, that he could only progress step by step. It is related that this detachment had no other subsistence for many days than the cattle that were found astray in the woods. Sometimes finding themselves totally destitute of flesh and flour, the soldiers were constrained to sustain life with the grain of unripe wheat and such fish as they could procure: they supported such hardships and distress with an heroic constancy. In passing through Virginia, they were re-enforced by the militia of that province; and, on their arrival at the banks of Deep river, they made their junction with the troops of North Carolina, commanded by general Caswell. These detachments combined formed a corps of six thousand effective men: a force so considerable with respect to the United States, as to induce the Congress to employ it without delay for the expulsion of the English from the two Carolinas. Wishing to confide this operation to a man

whose name should exercise a happy influence, they made choice of general Gates. The Baron de Kalb was recalled: as a stranger, unacquainted with the country, and ignorant of the proper mode of governing undisciplined militia, he could not retain the command.

General Gates arrived at the camp on Deep river the twenty-fifth of July. He immediately reviewed the troops, to ascertain their number and quality. He afterwards advanced upon the Pedee river, which, in the lower parts, separates the northern from the southern Carolina. The name and fortune of Gates produced so favourable and so rapid an effect, that not only the militia flocked to his standard, but also that munitions and provision abounded in his camp. The general impulse was given. Already the inhabitants of that tract of country which extends between the Pedee and Black river, were in arms against the royal troops. Colonel Sumpter, with a corps of infantry and light horse, incessantly harassed the left of the English, in the hope of intercepting their communication with Charleston: his parties scoured all the environs.

As soon as general Gates was arrived upon the confines of South Carolina, he issued a proclamation, by which he invited the inhabitants to join him in vindicating the rights of America. He promised an entire amnesty, and remission of all penalty in favour of those from whom the victors should have extorted oaths, excepting only such individuals as should have exercised acts of barbarity or depredation against the persons and property of their fellow citizens. This proclamation was not unfruitful:

not only the people ran to arms in multitude to support the cause of Congress, but even the companies levied in the province for the service of the king either revolted or deserted. Strengthened by these accessions, colonel Sumpter became every day a more formidable enemy for the English. While Cornwallis was occupied at Charleston with the administration of Carolina, Lord Rawdon had taken the command of the troops cantoned at Cambden and the adjacent country. He had directed upon Georgetown a convoy of sick soldiers, under the escort of a detachment of Carolinians, commanded by colonel Mills. About the middle of the route, these militia mutinied, and having seized their officers, conducted them with the sick English to the camp of general Gates. Colonel Lisle, one of those who had taken oath to the king, gained over a battalion of militia that had been levied in the name of Cornwallis, and led it entire to colonel Sumpter. The latter, who incessantly scoured the western bank of the Wateree, had captured considerable convoys of munitions of war, rum and provision that had been sent from Charleston upon Cambden. There had also fallen into his power at the same time, a great number of sick, with the soldiers that formed their escort. Already the route from Cambden to Ninety-Six was infested by the republicans; and they began to show themselves in force upon that from Cambden to Charleston. Thus the affairs of the king in the Carolinas began to assume an unfavourable aspect. Lord Rawdon, seeing so lowering a tempest about to burst upon him, and destitute of sufficient means to avert its effects, concentrated what troops he had

in the vicinity of Cambden, and distributed his cantonments upon the right bank of Lynches-Creek. He hastened to give notice of his critical position to Lord Cornwallis. In the meantime, Gates appeared with all his forces upon the other bank, and encamped in the front of the enemy. There ensued very warm and frequent skirmishes, with balanced success. The American general would have desired a decisive action, and to profit of his superiority to attack Lord Rawdon even in his quarters. But on examination, finding the enemy's position too strong, he dropped the design. His conduct appeared dictated by wisdom; but at the same time, he let slip an opportunity for gaining a signal advantage. If he had ascended by forced marches to the source of the Lynche, he turned without difficulty the left wing of Lord Rawdon, and might even seize Cambden on the rear of the British army: this stroke would have decided the fate of the campaign: but either Gates did not see it, or was afraid to undertake it. A short time after, the British general seeing his right menaced by a movement of the Americans, and fearing for his magazines and hospital, abandoned the banks of the Lynche, and fell back upon Cambden with all his troops. His retreat was in no shape molested by the enemy. At that very time Lord Cornwallis arrived in camp. Having surveyed the state of things, and finding to what a degree the forces and audacity of the republicans were augmented, he detached numerous parties on discovery, filled up the companies with the more vigorous convalescents, ordered distributions of arms, and the re-mounting of Tarleton's legion, which needed horses. Notwithstanding all

his efforts, he had not, however, been able to assemble above two thousand men, of whom about fifteen hundred were veteran troops, the rest loyalists and refugees. To attack with means so feeble an enemy so superior, appeared little less than temerity. Cornwallis might indeed have made his retreat to Charleston: but in that case he must have left about eight hundred sick, with a vast quantity of valuable stores, to fall into the hands of the enemy. He likewise foresaw, that excepting Charleston and Savannah, a retreat would be attended with the loss of the two whole provinces of South Carolina and Georgia. On the other hand, he observed, that the major part of his army was composed of soldiers as perfectly equipped as inured to war, and commanded by officers of approved valour and ability. He saw in victory the entire reduction of the two Carolinas, whereas even discomfiture could scarcely have worse consequences than retreat.

Under these considerations, he determined not only to face the enemy, but even to hazard a general action. Camden, the centre of the British line, not being a fortified place, and the boldest resolutions being often also the most fortunate, Cornwallis would not await the Americans in his cantonments. He formed a design to attack the position of Rugeleys-Mills, which the enemy occupied, with a view of forcing him to an engagement. On the fifteenth of August, all the royal troops were ordered to hold themselves in readiness to march. About ten o'clock in the evening, the columns put themselves in motion for Rugeleys. The first, commanded by colonel Webster, consisted in light infantry and dragoons.

The second, under the conduct of Lord Rawdon, was composed of Irish volunteers and loyalists. Two English battalions formed the reserve. In the rear was the baggage and a detachment of grenadiers. The English marched amidst the obscurity of night, in the most profound silence. The columns passed the little stream of Saunder, and had already left Cambden ten miles behind them. But while the English were advancing upon Rugeleys-Mills, the Americans themselves had quitted that place, at ten o'clock, with intent to surprise them. Gates and Cornwallis had both at once formed the same design, the one against the other. The American van consisted in the legion of cavalry of colonel Armand, flanked on the right by the light infantry of colonel Porterfield, and on the left by the light infantry of major Armstrong. Next, marched the brigades of Maryland regulars, with the militia of North Carolina and Virginia. The baggage followed the rear-guard, formed of a numerous corps of volunteers, with light-horse at the two flanks. General Gates had commanded his troops to march compact and in silence, and not to fire without order. He had sent to Wac-saw, on his rear, the sick, the unnecessary baggage, in a word, whatever might tend to impede his march. So many precautions on both sides, indicated that the two generals had mutually penetrated one the other. It was yet only two in the morning, when the advanced guard of the British army encountered the head of the first American column. It was briskly repulsed by colonel Porterfield: but that officer received a serious wound. The English, supported by two regiments of infantry, charged the Americans

in their turn. The action was engaged with spirit, and the loss considerable on both sides: but, all of a sudden, equally fearing the hazard of a nocturnal conflict, the two generals suspended the fire, and again the most profound silence reigned in the midst of darkness: the day was impatiently awaited.

Meanwhile, Cornwallis ascertained by the people of the country, that the ground was as propitious to him as it was unfavourable to the enemy. Gates, in effect, could not advance to the attack but through a narrow way, bordered on either side by deep swamps. This circumstance by depriving the Americans of the advantage of superior number, re-established an equality of forces. The British general formed his plan of battle accordingly. By daylight he disposed the front of his army in two divisions: that of the right, commanded by colonel Webster, had its right flank covered by a morass, and its left supported upon the great road; the other division under the conduct of Lord Rawdon had in like manner a morass on its left, while its right was re-united by the highway to the corps of Webster. The artillery was placed between the two divisions. A battalion drawn up behind each, served them as a sort of rear-guard. Tarleton's legion was posted upon the right of the road, in readiness to attack the enemy or receive him according to the occasion. The Americans, on their part, made all the dispositions that appeared to them the most suitable. Gates divided his van-guard in three columns. That of the right, commanded by general Gist, having the morass on its right, connected by its left upon the great road with the column of the centre, composed of the

North Carolina militia, led by general Caswell. The column of the left comprised the militia of Virginia, at the orders of general Stevens. Behind the Virginians were posted the light infantry of Porterfield and Armstrong. Colonel Armand had placed his cavalry behind the left, to face the legion of Tarleton. The continental troops of Maryland and Delaware formed the reserve. They were inured to war, and upon their valour rested the chief hope of success. They were commanded by general Smallwood. The artillery was placed in part upon the right of the continental troops, and in part upon the highway.

Such was the order of battle of the two armies, when just as the action was about to commence, Gates, not satisfied with the position of the divisions of Caswell and Stevens, very imprudently ordered them to change it for another which appeared to him better. Cornwallis, at sight of this movement, resolved to profit of it instantly. Accordingly, he ordered colonel Webster to advance and make a vigorous attack upon Stevens, whose troops were still undulating, from their not having yet been able to re-form their ranks. Colonel Webster obeyed with celerity. The battle thus commenced between the right of the English and the left of the Americans; it soon became general. The morning being still and hazy, the smoke hung over and involved both armies in such a cloud that it was difficult to see the state of destruction on either side. The British troops however, intermingling a quick and heavy fire with sharp charges at the point of the bayonet, evidently gained ground upon the Americans. At

length the Virginians, pressed by colonel Webster, and already half broken by the unadvised movement directed by Gates, after a feeble resistance, shamefully betook themselves to flight. The Carolinian militia, finding themselves uncovered, soon began to give way, and at last, turned the back with a similar baseness. Their officers attempted in vain to rally them; they were themselves involved in the rout. The left wing of the Americans was totally broken: Gates and Caswell made some efforts to re-form it; but Tarleton adroitly seized the decisive moment, and with a furious charge, carried to its height the confusion and consternation of that wing; all the troops that composed it threw themselves into the neighbouring woods. Their flight exposed the left flank of a Carolinian regiment and of the regulars of Maryland and Delaware who were already attacked in front. The right wing of the English, now completely victorious, turned furiously upon the American centre. This division defended themselves with the utmost gallantry: if it was not in their power to restore the fortune of the day, they saved at least the honour of the republican standard.

Opposing the enemy with a terrible fire, or the push of their bayonets, they withstood all his efforts. The Baron de Kalb led them several times to the charge; and they even recovered lost ground. But at length, surrounded on all sides, overwhelmed by number, and penetrated by cavalry, they were constrained to abandon the field of battle, but without having left a bloodless victory to their foes. Pierced with eleven wounds, the Baron de Kalb fell dying into the power of the victors. The rout was general;

each provided for his own safety. General Gist could rally no more than an hundred infantry and the dragoons of Armand. The British cavalry pursued the vanquished with vehemence for the space of twenty-three miles, and without halting till exhaustion imposed the necessity of repose.

The loss of the Americans in this action was very considerable. The number of the dead, wounded and prisoners was estimated at upwards of two thousand. Among the first was general Gregory, and among the prisoners, the Baron de Kalb, and general Rutherford, of Carolina. Eight pieces of brass cannon, two thousand stand of arms, several colours, with all the baggage and stores, fell into the hands of the conqueror. The loss of the British in killed and wounded amounted, including officers, only to three hundred and twenty-four.

Three days after the battle, the Baron de Kalb, perceiving the approach of death, requested his aid de camp, the Chevalier Dubuisson, to express in his name to generals Gist and Smallwood, his high sense of the valour displayed in the battle of Cambden by the regular troops of Maryland and Delaware. He spent his last breath in declaring the satisfaction which he then felt in having fallen in the defence of a cause so noble, and, to him, so dear. The Congress ordered that a monument should be erected him at the city of Annapolis, the capital of Maryland.

General Gates was reproached with several grave errors. The least excusable was doubtless that of having undertaken to change his order of battle in presence of the enemy. Perhaps he was also in fault to march in the night unwarlike militia, who

knew not even how to keep their ranks. He retreated to Hillsborough, in North Carolina. Generals Gist and Smallwood fell back upon Charlottetown and afterwards upon Salisbury, where they endeavoured to rally the fugitives and to re-organize their divisions: but the cause of England triumphed throughout the province of South Carolina: the banners of the republic no longer waved in any part of it. Colonel Sumpter alone continued to show himself upon the banks of the Wateree, with a corps of about a thousand men, and two field pieces. But on the news of the late discomfiture of Gates, he retired promptly towards the fords of Catawba, in the upper parts of North Carolina. Lord Cornwallis, a man of great activity, reflecting that his advantages were insecure till he should have destroyed this last body of republicans, detached colonel Tarleton in pursuit of it. The latter, moving with his accustomed celerity, fell unexpectedly upon the position of Sumpter, who had thought he might take some repose on the banks of Fishing-Creek. Tarleton surprised him so completely, that his men, lying totally careless and at ease, were mostly cut off from their arms. Their only resource was in a prompt flight: but a great number fell into the hands of the enemy, who slaughtered them after they had surrendered. Tarleton alleged that he could not grant them life, because his whole party was not equal in number to one third of Sumpter's. At length the carnage ceased, when the English and loyalists that were detained prisoners in the rear of Sumpter's position had been liberated. The cannon, stores and baggage, were the prey of the victors. Colonel Sumpter, with a few of his followers,

made good their escape. The disaster of his corps could not be imputed to him: he had not omitted to send out scouts upon the direction of the enemy, but that service was acquitted with an unpardonable negligence. Tarleton returned to Cambden the third day, with his prisoners, booty, and the loyalists he had retaken.

After the battle of Cambden, Cornwallis, in order not to lose by his tardiness the fruits of his victory, could have wished to advance immediately into North Carolina, a feeble province, and very ill-disposed towards the Congress. Thence he could march to the conquest of Virginia. Unquestionably, the presence of the victorious army in that part would have dispersed the relics of the vanquished, prevented their rallying anew, and encouraged the friends of the royal cause to show themselves, and even to act. But the British general encountered divers obstacles that opposed the execution of this plan. The heat of the season was excessive, the climate unhealthy, and the hospitals were incumbered with wounded and sick. The necessaries for encampment were almost entirely wanting: there was not a single magazine upon the frontiers of the Carolinas: and North Carolina could furnish but very little provision. Yielding to these considerations, Cornwallis relinquished all ulterior operation, distributed his troops in cantonments, and returned to Charleston. He thought himself sure at least of the submission of all South Carolina and of the not distant conquest of North, as soon as the season and the state of his magazines should favour the enterprise. In the meantime, he wrote frequently to the friends of royalty in North Carolina,

exhorting them to take arms, to assemble in force, and to make themselves masters of the most ardent republicans with their munitions and magazines. He counselled them even to seize the fugitives and stragglers of the rebel army. He promised them, that it should not be long before he marched to their assistance. And to inspire them with confidence in his words, even before he could move with his whole army, he detached major Ferguson, an able and enterprising partisan, upon the western frontiers of North Carolina. He had under his command a thousand loyalists and a corps of cavalry. His mission was to encourage by his presence the enemies of the revolution, and especially to open a correspondence with the inhabitants of Tryon county, who, more than the others, showed themselves attached to the name of England.

Unable to operate in the field, Cornwallis turned his attention towards the internal administration, in order to consolidate the acquisition of South Carolina. Resolved to have recourse to extreme remedies for terminating the crisis in which that province found itself, he purposed to spread terror among the republicans by the rigour of punishment, and to deprive them of the means to harm, by depriving them of the means to subsist. Accordingly, he addressed orders to all the British commanders, that without any delay they should cause to be hung all those individuals, who, after having served in the militia levied for the king, had gone over to the rebels; that they should punish with imprisonment and confiscation those, who having submitted at first had taken part in the last rebellion, to the end that their effects

might be applied to indemnify those subjects whom they should have oppressed or despoiled. It cannot be denied, that if it was possible to excuse such severity towards those who had exchanged the condition of prisoners of war for that of British subjects, it was worthy of an eternal blame in respect of those who had wished to remain in the first of these conditions. In effect, had they not been released from their parole by the authentic proclamation of Cornwallis himself, under date of the third of June? But victors, too often, by vain subtilties, or even without deigning to have recourse to them, especially in political convulsions, make sport of violating their faith, as if it were a necessity for them to add to the evils inseparable from war all the vexations of perfidy! However this might be, and however rigorous were the orders of Cornwallis, they were every where punctually executed. Carolina was become a theatre of proscriptions. Several British officers openly testified their abhorrence of this reign of blood: but the greater part, and Tarleton more than any other, commended it without shame as useful and necessary to the success of the royal cause. Already Tarleton had complained bitterly of the clemency, as he called it, exercised by Cornwallis prior to the battle of Cam Camden: this clemency, he said, was not only good for nothing, but also prejudicial in every thing, since it rendered friends less hearty, and enemies more audacious. This reproach would certainly have been founded, if it were true that in war utility alone deserves regard, and that nothing is due to humanity, good faith and justice. Nobody denies, for example, that to poison springs, massacre all the prisoners that can be taken,

bring off into slavery all the inhabitants of a country, without distinction of age or sex, and without regard for the law of nations, might sometimes have a useful tendency. We see, nevertheless, that in all time, civilized nations and conquerors not entirely barbarous, have abstained from these horrible extremities. But in the present occurrence, the English showed themselves without pity for the most respectable men of the country. The inhabitants of Cambden, of Ninety-Six, of Augusta, and other places, saw inhumanly gibbeted men whose only crime was that of having been too faithful to a cause which they considered as that of their country and of justice.

All minds were penetrated with horror; all hearts were inflamed with an implacable and never dying hatred against such ferocious victors. A cry of vengeance resounded amidst this exasperated people; all detested a king who had devoted them to the oppression of these belluine executors of his will. His standard became an object of execration. The British generals learned by cruel experience, that executions and despair are frail securities for the submission of a people planted in distant regions, actuated by a common opinion, and embarked with passion in a generous enterprise. Nor were these the only rigours which Cornwallis thought it expedient to exercise, in order to confirm the possession of the provinces conquered by his arms. To complete the reduction of the patriots, he employed arrests and sequestrations. He feared that the presence in Charleston of the leading men, who persevering in their character of prisoners of war, had refused to

accept that of subjects, might tend to keep alive a spirit of resistance. He likewise learned, as the British writers affirm, that these prisoners had maintained a secret correspondence with the enemies of the English name, the proofs of which had been found in the baggage of the American generals captured at the battle of Cambden. These motives appeared to him sufficient to justify the seizure and imprisonment at St. Augustin, in East Florida, of more than thirty of the most influential chiefs of the American party. They were all of the number of those who had taken the most active part in the organization of the republican government, and who had shown themselves the most ardent partisans of the present war. Then desirous to prevent those who were, or whom he believed opposed to Great Britain, from assisting the Congress with their pecuniary means, or with a hope to constrain them to submission, he issued a proclamation importing the sequestration of the possessions of whoever should hold correspondence with the Congress, act in its name, join the enemies of England, or excite the people to revolt by word or deed. He constituted at the same time, a commissioner over sequestered estates, with obligation to account to the families of the forfeited for a part of their nett revenue: a fourth to those consisting of a wife and children, and a sixth to wives without children. A clause required, however, that these families should reside in the province. These different measures, combined with a rigorous watchfulness over the movements of the suspected, appeared to the English a sure guarantee for the return of tranquillity and obedience in the province of

South Carolina. *And as to North Carolina*, it could no longer hope to resist them when the weather became temperate, and the harvests were over. We shall see, in the course of this history, how far these hopes were confirmed by the event.

Whilst the season had caused the suspension of hostilities in the two Carolinas, and while, in the state of New York, the superiority of the Americans by land, and that of the English by sea, had occasioned a similar cessation of arms, an unexpected event arrested the general attention. During some time a design had been maturing in the shades of mystery, whose execution, had it succeeded to the wish of its authors, would have involved the total ruin of the army of Washington, and, perhaps, the entire subjugation of America. A single instant more, and the work of so many years, cemented at such a cost of gold and of blood, might have been demolished to its foundations by a cause altogether unthought-of. The English had well nigh arrived by means of treason at that object which with five years of intrigues and of combats they had not been able to attain: and it was even at the hands of the man they least suspected, that the Americans were to have received the most fatal blow. They had but too manifest a proof that no confidence can be placed in courage when disunited from virtue. They learned that men who display the most enthusiasm for a cause are often also those who become the soonest unfaithful; and that an insatiable thirst of pelf, coupled with mad prodigalities, easily conduct the ambitious spendthrift to barter basely for gold even the safety of his country. Private virtues are incontestably the origi-

nal and only basis of public integrity: and it should never be forgotten that the man without morals, who arrives at the first offices of the republic, has no other object but to satiate his ambition or his cupidity at the expense of his fellow citizens. If he encounter obstacles he is ripe for deeds of violence within and treason without. The name of general Arnold was deservedly dear to all the Americans: they considered him as one of their most intrepid defenders. Numerous wounds, and especially that which had almost deprived him of the use of one leg, had forced him to take repose at his seat in the country.

The Congress, with the concurrence of Washington, in recompense for his services, appointed him commandant of Philadelphia, immediately after that city was evacuated by the English, and returned under American domination. Here Arnold lived at an enormous expense, and showed himself extremely grasping in order to support it. He had established himself in the house of Penn, and had furnished it in the most sumptuous manner. His play, his table, his balls, his concerts, his banquets would have exhausted the most immense fortune. His own, and the emoluments of his employment being far from sufficient to defray such extravagance, he had betaken himself to commerce and privateering. His speculations proved unfortunate: his debts accumulated, his creditors tormented him. His boundless arrogance revolted at so many embarrassments; yet he would diminish nothing of this princely state. Under these circumstances, he conceived the shameful idea of reimbursing himself from the public treasure

for all he had squandered in riotous living. Accordingly, he presented accounts more worthy of a shameless usurer than of a general. The government, astonished and indignant, appointed commissioners to investigate them. They refused not merely to approve them, they reduced the claims of Arnold to half. Enraged at their decision, he loaded them with reproaches and insults, and appealed from it to the Congress. Several of its members were charged to examine these accounts anew, and to make report. They declared that the commissioners had allowed Arnold more than he had any right to demand. His wrath no longer observed measure; the Congress itself became the object of the most indecent invectives that ever fell from a man in high station. This conduct, far from restoring tranquillity, produced a quite contrary effect. That spirit of order for which the Americans are distinguished, did not permit them to quit thus an affair already in progress. Arnold was accused of peculation by the state of Pennsylvania, and brought before a court-martial to take his trial. Among the charges laid against him, he was accused of having converted to his own use the British merchandise he had found and confiscated at Philadelphia, in 1778: as also of having employed the public carriages for the service of different private individuals, and especially for his own and that of his associates in the commerce of New Jersey. The court sentenced him to be reprimanded by Washington. This sentence neither satisfied the accused nor the accusers. The latter exclaimed that more regard had been shown for the past services of Arnold than for justice: the former broke into bitter complaints of the

iniquity of his judges and ingratitude of his country. His pride could not brook so public a stigma; he had seen himself the idol of his fellow-citizens, and he was now become the object of their contempt, if not hatred. In the blindness of his vengeance, and in the hope that he might still glut his passion with British gold, since he no longer could with American, he resolved to add perfidy to avidity, and treason to pillage. Determined that his country should resume the yoke of England, he developed his projects in a letter which he addressed to colonel Robinson. General Clinton was immediately made acquainted with its contents. He committed this secret negotiation to major Andre, his aid de camp, a young man as distinguished for the suavity of his manners and the gentleness of his temper, as for the singular comeliness of his person. Arnold and Andre corresponded together under the assumed names of Gustavus and Anderson. The American general was promised a corresponding rank in the British army, and considerable sums of gold. He, on his part, engaged to render the king some signal service. The consequence of this understanding was a demand that West Point should be given up to the royal troops. That fortress, situated upon the western bank of the Hudson, is of extreme importance, in that it defends the passage of the mountains in the upper part of the river. Accordingly, the Americans had been at such pains and expense to render it impregnable, that it was called with reason *the Gibraltar of America*. Into this all-important citadel Arnold formally pledged himself to introduce the English. Hence, pretending to have taken an aversion to the residence of Philadelphia, and that he

wished to resume an active service in the army, he requested and obtained the command of West Point, and of all the American troops cantoned in that quarter. But his plan embraced more than the mere delivery of the fortress: he purposed so to scatter his forces in the environs, that Clinton might easily fall upon them by surprise, and cut them off at the same stroke. Masters of West Point, and having no more enemies before them, the English would then have marched rapidly against Washington, who had distributed his troops upon the two banks of the Hudson; their destruction must have been total and inevitable. Thus, therefore, besides West Point, and those passes which had been so often disputed, and for which the British government had undertaken the fatal expedition of Burgoyne, the Americans would have lost their whole army, their artillery, their munitions of war, and their best officers. May it not even be conjectured that, if the English should have profited of the confusion and consternation which could not fail to have resulted from so sudden a catastrophe, the United States would have found themselves necessitated to receive the law of the conqueror?

About the middle of September, Washington had been called to Hartford, in Connecticut, upon some affairs which required his presence. The conspirators considered the occasion propitious for the accomplishment of their designs. It was agreed that, in order to concert more particularly the last measures, major Andre should repair secretly to the presence of Arnold. Accordingly, in the night of the twenty-first of September, he landed from the Vulture sloop of

war, which already long since Clinton had stationed up the river not far from West Point, to facilitate the correspondence between the two parties. Arnold and Andre passed the whole night in conference. The day having dawned before all their dispositions were concluded, the British aid-de-camp was concealed in a secure place. The following night, he wished to regain the Vulture: but the boatmen would not convey him thither, because the excess of his precautions had inspired them with some distrust. He was obliged to take the way of the land. Arnold gave him a horse and a passport under the name of Anderson. Until then he had worn the British uniform under a riding coat: he threw it off, and took a common dress, though, it is said, much against his will, and at the earnest importunity of Arnold. He had already safely passed the American guards and out-posts, and might reasonably hope to arrive without obstacle at New York: but fate had reserved a different issue for the infamous perfidy of Arnold; and the generous devotion of major Andre towards his country.

As he was going through Tarrytown, a village situated in the vicinity of the first British posts, three soldiers of the militia, who happened to be there, threw themselves across his passage. He showed them his passport; they suffered him to continue his route. All of a sudden, one of these three men, more distrustful than his comrades, thought he had observed something particular in the person of the traveller: he called him back. Andre asked them where they were from. "From down below," they replied, intending to say from New York. The

young man, too frank to suspect a snare, immediately answered, "and so am I." They arrest him. He then declared himself, for what he was, a British officer. He offered all the gold he had with him, a valuable watch, rewards and rank in the British army, as the price of his release: all his efforts were vain. John Paulding, David Williams and Isaac Van Wert, such were the names of the three soldiers, were found incorruptible: a disinterestedness the more worthy of eulogium, as they were poor and obscure. Thus in the very moment when one of the most distinguished chiefs of the American army, a man celebrated throughout the world for his brilliant exploits, betrayed out of a base vengeance the country he had served, and sold it for a purse of gold, three common soldiers preferred the honest to the useful, and fidelity to fortune. They diligently searched their prisoner, and found in his boots several papers written by the hand of Arnold himself, containing the most detailed information with respect to the positions of the Americans, their munitions, the garrison of West Point, and the most suitable mode of directing an attack against that fortress. Major Andre was conducted before the officer who commanded the advanced posts. Afraid of hurting Arnold by an immediate disclosure of his true character, and braving the danger of being instantly put to death as a spy, if it should be discovered that he had concealed his real name, he persisted in affirming that he was Anderson, as indicated by his passport. The American officer was at a loss what to decide: he could not persuade himself that his general, after having so often shed his blood for the

country, was now resolved to betray it. These hesitations, the negations of Andre, the distance at which Washington and even Arnold found themselves, gave the latter time to escape. As soon as he heard that Andre was arrested, he threw himself into a boat and hastened on board the Vulture. The news of this event excited universal amazement. The people could scarcely credit the treachery of a man in whom they had so long placed the utmost confidence. The peril they had run filled them with consternation: the happy chance which had rescued them from it, appeared a prodigy. "God, they said, has not permitted that men of honour should be victims of perfidy: it is his almighty hand that has saved us: he approves and protects the cause of America." Maledictions were heaped upon Arnold, praises upon those who had arrested Andre.

Meanwhile, Washington returned from Connecticut to his camp. Suspecting, first of all, that the plot might have more extensive ramifications, and not knowing on what individuals to fix his eye, he busied himself in taking the most prompt and efficacious measures to baffle their pernicious designs. He feared also lest the contagion of example might incite even those who were strangers to the conspiracy to entertain rash desires for a new order of things. He knew that the way once cleared by some audacious individuals, the multitude are but too apt to hurry blindly after them. These apprehensions offered themselves the more naturally to his mind, as the pay of his troops was considerably in arrear, and as they were in want of many of the necessaries not only of war, but even of life. The precautions of the com-

mander-in-chief were fortunately superfluous. Nobody stirred: nothing led to the presumption of Arnold's having had accomplices.

When major Andre, from the time elapsed, could infer that Arnold must be in safety, he revealed his name and rank. He appeared less solicitous about his safety, than to prove that he was neither an impostor nor a spy. He endeavoured to refute the appearances which seemed to depose against him. He affirmed that his intention had been merely to come and confer, upon neutral ground, with a person designated by his general; but that thence he had been trepanned and drawn within the American lines. From that moment, he added, none of his steps could be imputed to his default, since he then found himself in the power of others. Washington, meanwhile, created a court martial: among its members, besides many of the most distinguished American officers, were the Marquis de la Fayette and the Baron de Steuben. Major Andre appeared before his judges: they were specially charged to investigate and define the nature of the offence, and the punishment it involved, according to the laws of war. The demeanour of the young Englishman was equally remote from arrogance and from meanness. His blooming years, the ingenuous cast of his features, the mild elegance of his manners, had conciliated him an interest in every heart.

In the meantime, Arnold, being safely arrived on board the Vulture, immediately wrote a letter to Washington. He impudently declared in it that it was the same patriotism of which he had never ceased to give proofs since the origin of the contest,

which had now prescribed him his present step, whatever men might think of it, always so ill judges of the actions of others. He added, that he asked nothing for himself, having already but too much experience of the ingratitude of his country, but that he prayed and conjured the commander-in-chief to have the goodness to preserve his wife from the insults of an irritated people, by sending her to Philadelphia among her friends, or by permitting her to come and rejoin him at New York. This letter was followed by a despatch from colonel Robinson, likewise dated on board the Vulture. He earnestly demanded that major Andre should be released, urging in his defence, that he had gone ashore on public business and under the protection of a flag, as well by the invitation of Arnold as by the command of his own general; that he was the bearer of a regular passport for his return to New York; that all his doings during the time he had passed with the Americans, and especially the change of his dress and name, had been dictated by the will of Arnold. The colonel concluded with alleging, that the major could no longer be detained without a violation of the sanctity of flags and a contempt for all the laws of war as they are acknowledged and practised by all nations. General Clinton wrote in much the same style in favour of Andre. In the letter of that general was enclosed a second from Arnold; its language could not pretend to the merit of reserve. He insisted that in his character of American general, he was invested with the right to grant Andre the usual privilege of flags, that he might approach in safety to confer with him; and that in sending him back, he

was competent to choose any way he thought the most proper. But major Andre betrayed less anxiety respecting his fate than was manifested in his behalf by his countrymen and friends. Naturally averse from all falsehood, from all subterfuge, desirous, if he must part with life, to preserve it at least pure and spotless to his last hour, he confessed ingenuously that he had by no means come under the protection of a flag; adding, that if he had come so accompanied, he should certainly have returned under the same escort. His language manifested an extreme attention to avoid imputing fault to any; abjuring, on the contrary, all dissimulation in regard to what concerned him personally, he often avowed more than was questioned him: so much generosity and constancy were universally admired. The fate of this unfortunate young man wrung tears of compassion even from his judges. All would have wished to save him, but the fact was too notorious. The court-martial, on the ground of his own confession, pronounced that he was, and ought to be considered as a spy, and as such to be punished with death. Washington notified this sentence to Clinton, in the answer to his letter. He recapitulated all the circumstances of the offence, inviting him to observe, that although they were of a nature to justify towards major Andre the summary proceedings usual in the case of spies, still he had preferred to act in respect of him with more deliberation and scruple; that it was therefore not without a perfect knowledge of the cause that the court-martial had passed the judgment of which he apprized him. But Clinton, half delirious with anguish at the destiny of An-

dre, whom he loved with the utmost tenderness, did not restrict himself to the efforts he had already made to preserve him. He again wrote to Washington, praying him to consent to a conference between several delegates of the two parties, in order to throw all the light possible upon so dubious an affair. Washington complied with the proposal: he sent general Greene to Dobbs-Ferry, where he was met by general Robertson on the part of the English. The latter exerted himself with extreme earnestness to prove that Andre could not be considered as a spy. He repeated the arguments already advanced of the privilege of flags, and of the necessity that controlled the actions of Andre while he was in the power of Arnold. But perceiving that his reasoning produced no effect, he endeavoured to persuade by the voice of humanity; he alleged the essential importance of mitigating by generous counsels the rigours of war; he extolled the clemency of general Clinton, who had never put to death any of those persons who had violated the laws of war; he reminded that major Andre was particularly dear to the general in chief, and that if he might be permitted to re-conduct him to New York, any American, of whatever crime accused, and now in the power of the English, should be immediately set at liberty. He made still another proposition: and that was, to suspend the execution of the judgment, and to refer the affair to the decision of two officers familiar alike with the laws of war and of nations, such as the generals Knyphausen and Rochambeau. Finally, general Robertson presented a letter from Arnold, directed to Washington, by which he endeavoured to exculpate the British pri

soner, and to take all the blame of his conduct upon himself. He did not retire till after, having threatened the most terrible retaliations, if the sentence of the court-martial was executed: he declared in particular, that the rebels of Carolina, whose life general Clinton had hitherto generously spared, should be immediately punished with death. The interposition of Arnold could not but tend to the prejudice of Andre; and even if the Americans had been inclined to clemency, his letter would have sufficed to divert them from it. The conference had no effect.

Meanwhile, the young Englishman prepared himself for death. He manifested at its approach, not that contempt which is often no other than dissimulation, or brutishness; nor yet that weakness which is peculiar to effeminate, or guilty men, but that firmness which is the noble characteristic of the virtuous and brave. He regretted life, but he sighed still deeper at the manner of losing it. He could have wished to die as a soldier, that is to be shot; but he was doomed to the punishment of spies and malefactors, to the infamous death of the halter. This idea struck him with horror; he painted it with force to the court-martial. It made him no answer, not willing to grant his request, and esteeming it a cruelty to refuse it expressly. Two other causes of despair increased the anguish of the unhappy youth. One was the fear that his death would reduce to indigence and wretchedness a mother and three sisters, whom he tenderly loved; and whom he supported with his pay; the second, lest the public voice should accuse Clinton of having precipitated him, by his orders, into his present dreadful situation. He could not think with-

out the most bitter regrets, that his death might be laid to the charge of that man, whom he loved and respected the most. He obtained permission to write to him; he used it but to recommend to his protection his unhappy mother and sisters, and to bear testimony that it was not only against his intentions, but even against his positive orders, that he had introduced himself into the camp of the Americans, and had assumed a disguise. The second day of October was destined to be the last of his existence. Brought to the foot of the gibbet, he said: And must I die thus? He was answered, that it could not be otherwise. He did not dissemble his profound grief. At length, after having past a few moments in prayer, he pronounced these words which were his last: "bear witness that I die as a brave man should die." Such was the just, but melancholy end of a young man deserving in so many respects of a better destiny. It cast a damp of sadness over enemies as well as friends. Arnold gnashed with rage, if, however, that polluted soul was still capable of remorse. The English themselves eyed him with abhorrence, both as traitor, and as original cause of the death of the hapless Andre. In policy, nevertheless, any instrument being thought good provided it serves the end proposed, Arnold was created brigadier-general in the British armies. Clinton hoped that the name and influence of this renegade would induce a great number of the Americans to join the royal standard. Arnold at least was well aware, that since he had abandoned them, he could not show too much fervour for the cause of England. And, such being the irresistible ascendant of virtue, that even the most depraved

are forced to assume its semblance, he thought fit to publish a memorial, by which he hoped to mask his infamy. He alleged that in the commencement of the troubles, he had taken arms because he believed the rights of his country were infringed; that he had given into the declaration of independence, although he had thought it ill-timed: but that when Great Britain, like a relenting and tender mother, had extended her arms to embrace them, offering them the most just and the most honourable conditions, the refusal of the insurgents, and especially their alliance with France, had entirely changed the nature of the quarrel, and transformed a glorious cause into a criminal revolt; that ever since that epoch he had been desirous to resume the relations of ancient allegiance towards England. He declaimed with violence against the Congress; he painted in the most odious colours its tyranny and avarice: he railed against the union with France, affecting a profound grief that the dearest interests of the country had thus been sacrificed to an arrogant, inveterate and perfidious enemy. He represented France as too feeble to establish independence, as the bitterest foe of the protestant faith, as deceitfully pretending a zeal for the liberty of the human race, while she held her own children in vassalage and servitude. Arnold finished with declaring, that he had so long delayed the disclosure of his sentiments, from a wish, by some important service, to effect the deliverance of his country, and at the same time to avoid as much as possible the effusion of blood. He addressed this memorial to his countrymen in general. A few days after, he published another, directed to the

officers and soldiers of the American army. He exhorted them to come and place themselves under the banners of the king, where they would find promotion and increase of pay. He vaunted of wishing to conduct the flower of the American nation to peace, liberty and safety; to rescue the country from the hands of France, and of those who had brought it to the brink of perdition. He affirmed that America was become a prey to avarice, an object of scorn for her enemies, and of pity for her friends: that she had exchanged her liberty for oppression. He represented the citizens thrust into dungeons, despoiled of their property; the youth dragged to war, blood streaming in torrents. "What," he exclaimed, "is America now, but a land of widows, orphans and beggars? If England were to cease her efforts for her deliverance, how could she hope to enjoy the exercise of that religion for which our fathers once braved ocean, climate and deserts? Has not the abject and profligate Congress been seen of late to attend mass, and participate in the ceremonies of an anti-christian church, against the corruptions of which our pious ancestors would have borne testimony at the price of their blood?" These declamations of a traitor proved the more fruitless the more they were insolent and exaggerated. America, moreover, had writers who stepped forward to refute them, in a style as animated as the reasoning was triumphant. They observed, among other things, that none more than Arnold, even subsequent to the rejection of accommodation with England, had been the devoted and obsequious courtier of France, none more than him had danced attendance upon her generals and

agents; that on the first arrival of the minister Gerard at Philadelphia, he had pressed him to inhabit his house; that he had lavished, in his honour, the most sumptuous banquets, the most splendid balls, the most gorgeous galas: that he had been the supple flatterer of Silas Deane, the most servile tool of France, in a word, that on all occasions he had given the French grounds to believe that they had not in all the United States a more sincere friend than himself. "But such, it was said, is the ordinary conduct of the ambitious; alternately cringing and supercilious, they are not ashamed to tax others with their own vices. Thus Arnold found retorted against himself those arguments from which he had anticipated the most success.

As to the Congress, they deemed it beneath their dignity to appear to take the least notice of the perfidy or the pamphlets of Arnold. Only to testify their high sense of the noble conduct of the three soldiers who had arrested major Andre, they passed a resolution creating in favour of each of them a life annuity of two hundred dollars, free of all deductions. They also decreed that they should be presented with a silver medal, struck express, bearing upon one face the word *Fidelity*, and upon the other the following motto: *Vincit amor patriæ*. The executive council of Pennsylvania issued a proclamation summoning Benedict Arnold, in company with some other vile men, to appear before the tribunals to make answer for their defection, and declaring them, otherwise, subject to all the pains and penalties usually inflicted on criminals convicted of high-treason. This was the only act in which any

public authority deigned to make mention of Arnold.

The details of the conspiracy of New York have necessarily diverted our attention for some time from the theatre of war. We proceed now to recount the various success of the British arms in the Carolinas. The month of September approached its close, when the British generals, who had re-enforced their troops and recruited their necessary stores and provision, resolved to re-enter the field and complete those operations which they had commenced, and which were to be the most important fruit of the victory of Cambden. They flattered themselves that the rumour alone of their march upon North Carolina would suffice to determine the American army to evacuate it immediately. They already beheld in no distant perspective not only the conquest of that province, but also that of Virginia. They calculated that when to the possession of the two Carolinas, of Georgia and of New York they should have added this Virginia, so fertile and so powerful, the Americans, crushed by the burthen of the war, must of necessity submit to the laws of Great Britain. The decline and humiliation of their enemies appeared to them inevitable. Lord Cornwallis and general Clinton were to co-operate simultaneously to bring about this grand result: the first, by advancing from South into North Carolina: the second, by sending a part of his army from New York into the lower parts of Virginia, where, after having passed the Roanoke, it was to operate its junction with the army of Cornwallis upon the confines of North Carolina. In pursuance of this plan, Clinton had detached upon the

Chesapeake bay a corps of three thousand men, under the command of general Leslie. He landed his troops as well at Portsmouth as upon the adjacent points of that coast, ravaging and burning all the magazines, and especially those of tobacco, of which an immense quantity was destroyed. Many merchant vessels fell into the hands of the English. In this quarter, they were to wait for news of the approach of Cornwallis, then to push rapidly forward to the banks of the Roanoke, where the junction was to be effected. But the distance being great, and as unforeseen accidents might impede the contemplated union of the two corps, Clinton had directed Leslie to obey the orders of Cornwallis. His intention was, that if the junction by land was found subject to insurmountable obstacles, Cornwallis might cause a part of that corps to come round to him in the Carolinas, by way of the sea. That general, on his part, had put himself on the march from Cambden upon Charlottetown, a village situated in North Carolina. Nevertheless, to hold South Carolina in check, and to preserve the way open to retreat thither, if it was necessary, he had not contented himself with leaving a strong garrison in Charleston. Several detachments were distributed upon different points of the frontier; colonel Brown was posted at Augusta, colonel Cruger at Ninety-Six, and colonel Turnbull with a stronger corps at Cambden. Lord Cornwallis had then advanced, with the main body of the army and some cavalry, by the way of Hanging-Rock, towards Catawba, while Tarleton with the rest of the cavalry passed the Wateree and ascended along its eastern bank. The two corps were to rendezvous, and re-

unite at Charlottetown. They arrived there in effect about the last of September. But the English were not slow in perceiving that they had undertaken a far more arduous enterprise than they had contemplated. The country in the environs of Charlottetown was steril, and broken by narrow and intricate defiles. The inhabitants were not only hostile, but also most vigilant and audacious in attacking detached parties, in cutting off couriers and convoys while on the way from Cambden to Charlottetown. Hence the royalists could not sally into the open country, whether to forage, or gain intelligence, except in strong detachments. Moreover, colonel Sumpter, always enterprising, and prompt to seize any occasion for infesting the British, seemed to be every where at once upon the frontiers of the two Carolinas. Another partisan corps of similar audacity, had just been formed under the conduct of colonel Marion. Finally, the alarming intelligence was announced, that colonel Clarke had assembled a numerous body of mountaineers from the upper parts of the Carolinas, a most hardy and warlike race of men. Though the valiant defence of colonel Brown had defeated a coup de main which they had attempted against Augusta, yet they still kept the field. Their chief had led them into the mountainous part in order to unite with colonel Sumpter, or, at least, if the corps of Ferguson prevented that, to await new re-enforcements of the inhabitants of those regions, whose ardour he well knew.

The royalists thus found themselves surrounded by clouds of republicans. Placed in the midst of a country where every thing combined against them,

they more resembled a besieged army than troops marching upon an expedition. An unexpected accident came to aggravate yet more the distress of their position. Colonel Ferguson, as we have already seen, had been detached by Lord Cornwallis upon the frontiers of North Carolina, to encourage the loyalists to take arms. A considerable number had repaired to his standard, but the greater part were of the most profligate and of the most ferocious description of men. Believing any thing admissible with the sanction of their chief, they put every thing on their passage to fire and sword. Excesses so atrocious must have inflamed the coldest hearts with the desire of vengeance: they transported the mountaineers with fury. They descended into the plain by torrents, arming themselves with whatever chance threw within their reach. They foamed at the name of Ferguson: they conjured the chiefs they had given themselves, to lead them upon the track of this monster, that they might make him expiate the ravages and blood with which he had stained himself. Each of them carried, besides his arms, a wallet and a blanket. They slept on the naked earth, in the open air: the water of the rivulets slaked their thirst, they fed on the cattle they drew after them, or on the game they killed in the forests. They were conducted by the colonels Campbell, Cleveland, Selby, Seveer, Williams, Brandy and Lacy. Every where they demanded Ferguson with loud cries. At every step they swore to exterminate him. At length they found him. But Ferguson was not a man that any danger whatever could intimidate. He was posted on a woody eminence which commands all the adjacent plain, and

has a circular base. It is called Kings-Mountain. An advanced guard defended its approach by the direct road. The mountaineers soon forced them to fall back; then, forming in several columns, they endeavoured to make their way good to the summit. The attack and the defence were equally obstinate; some from behind trees, others under the cover of rocks, maintained an extremely brisk fire. At length those commanded by Cleveland arrived upon the brow of the hill. The English repulsed them with the bayonet. But the column of Selby came up at the same instant, and it was necessary to dispute the ground with it immediately. It began to give way, when colonel Campbell took part in the combat. Ferguson received him with gallantry; but what could avail his efforts against assaults incessantly renewed and always with more fury! He was surrounded: and he did all that a man of skill and courage could do to extricate himself. But already the crown of the mount was inundated with Americans. They summoned Ferguson in vain to surrender: he perished sword in hand. His successor immediately demanded and obtained quarter. The carnage had been dreadful: the royalists had to regret above eleven hundred men killed, wounded and prisoners, a loss extremely serious in the present circumstances. All the arms and munitions fell into the power of the conquerors. They observed the laws of war towards the English; but they displayed an excessive rigour against the loyalists. They hung several without listening to their remonstrances. They alleged that this execution was only a just reprisal for that of the republicans put to death by the

loyalists at Cambden, at Ninety-Six and at Augusta. They even insisted that the persons whose lives they had taken, had forfeited them by their crimes according to the laws of the country. Thus was added to the inevitable rigours of war, all the ferocity of civil dissensions.

The mountaineers, after this victory, returned to their homes. The check of Kings-Mountain was a heavy blow to the British interests in the Carolinas. The position of Cornwallis became critical. The loyalists no longer manifested the same zeal to join him; and he found himself with a feeble army in the midst of a hostile and steril country. He clearly foresaw that a movement forward would but increase the embarrassments under which he already laboured. Compelled, therefore, to relinquish for the present the invasion of North Carolina, where the public mind was decidedly in favour of the republicans, he resolved, at least, to maintain himself in South Carolina until he should have received re-enforcements. He accordingly abandoned Charlottetown, re-passed the Catawba, and took post at Winnsborough. From that point, he was at hand to correspond with Cambden and Ninety-Six; and the fertility of the adjacent country secured him better quarters. At the same time he sent orders to general Leslie, who was still in Virginia, to embark his troops forthwith, and after having touched at Wilmington, to repair with all expedition to Charleston.

The retreat of the English from Charlottetown to Winnsborough, and their defeat at Kings-Mountain, animated the republicans with uncommon alacrity. They hastened in multitude to place themselves un-

der the standards of their most daring chiefs, among whom the more prominent were the colonels Sumpter and Marion. The latter scoured the lower, the former the upper parts of the province. Sometimes Cambden, sometimes Ninety-Six were menaced. The royal troops could scarcely quit their camp for provision, wood or forage, without running the greatest hazard of being surprised. To put an end to these continual alarms, Tarleton made a movement which menaced colonel Marion; but the American, who intended only to harass his enemy, and not to engage him in the open field, retired precipitately. The Englishman pursued him; but he received, at the same instant, orders from Lord Cornwallis, enjoining him to turn upon colonel Sumpter. That partisan was on the march towards Ninety-Six; he had already surprised major Wemis upon Broad river, and captured many prisoners, both horse and foot. Tarleton, exerting a scarcely credible diligence, appeared unexpectedly in the presence of Sumpter, who was encamped upon the right bank of the river Tiger, at a place called Blackstocks. The position of the Americans was formidably strong; it was covered in front by the river, log-houses and palisades; and upon the two flanks by inaccessible mountains, or narrow and difficult defiles. Tarleton, hurried on by his ardour, and fearing lest Sumpter should pass the Tiger and escape him, left his light infantry, and even a part of his legion, behind, and pushed forward upon the enemy with a body of grenadiers and the rest of his cavalry. The action was engaged with reciprocal desperation. A British regiment was so roughly treated that it was compelled

to fall back in the greatest disorder. Tarleton, to restore the battle, headed an impetuous charge upon the centre of the Americans: they received it without giving way. The Englishman then found himself constrained to retreat, leaving upon the field of battle a great number of dead and wounded, among whom were found several officers of note. But night being come, colonel Sumpter, who was dangerously wounded in the shoulder, did not judge it prudent to await the British troops that Tarleton had left behind him, and he accordingly re-passed the river. His wound not permitting him to retain the command, he was carried by faithful soldiers into the secure regions of the mountains. The greater part of his corps then disbanded. Tarleton, after having scoured, for a few days, the country on the left bank of the Tiger, returned by easy marches to resume his position upon Broad river, in South Carolina. This petty war, these frequent rencounters, more and more invigorated the warlike spirit of the troops of the two parties.

Meanwhile, general Gates had succeeded in assembling some few troops, the greater part cavalry, and in order to support the partisans of Congress, as well as to afford them a rallying point, he re-crossed the river Yadkin, and took post at Charlottetown, with intent to winter there. He thought that hostilities could not be continued during the bad season, which was then about to set in. While he applied himself with zeal to these preparatory dispositions, and fortune seemed inclined to smile upon him anew, general Greene arrived at camp. His military reputation, and his tried devotion to the cause of the republic, had decided the Congress and Washington

to entrust him with the command in the southern provinces, in the room of Gates. The latter evinced, in this conjuncture, that country was dearer to him than power and glory. He supported so unpleasant an incident with such constancy, that he did not betray a single mark of discontent. When he passed through Richmond, in returning to his own province, the assembly of Virginia sent a deputation to compliment him. It gave him assurance that the remembrance of his glorious achievements could not be effaced by any misfortune, praying him to be persuaded that the Virginians in particular would never neglect any occasion to manifest the gratitude they bore him, as members of the American Union. General Greene brought with him no re-enforcement from the northern army: he expected to find sufficient forces in the southern quarter. He was accompanied only by colonel Morgan with some riflemen, who had acquired the highest reputation. His army was consequently extremely feeble: but the woods, the swamps, the rivers with which the country was everywhere broken, were means of defence sufficient to re-assure him. As his intention was merely to infest the enemy, by avoiding general actions he hoped to be able to harass and little by little to reduce him. It was about the same time that general Leslie arrived from Virginia at Charleston, with a re-enforcement of more than two thousand regular troops. He found fresh orders in that city, in pursuance of which, he put himself immediately on the march with fifteen hundred men, to rejoin Lord Cornwallis at Winnsborough.

1781. This addition of force renewed with the British general the desire to reduce North Carolina, and to proceed thence into Virginia. But the better to secure the success of this enterprise, a council of war decided that it should not be confided to the army of Cornwallis alone; and that it was proper that it should be supported by another expedition simultaneously directed on the part of Virginia itself; not that the troops which could be employed in that part were in a situation to achieve the conquest of the province without the assistance of Lord Cornwallis, but they might at least be able to discourage the Virginians from passing re-enforcements to general Greene. Agreeably to this plan, Arnold had been detached to the Chesapeake bay, where he was to disembark his troops at whatever point he might judge the most favourable to a mischievous impression. The English also flattered themselves that his name and example would influence a great number of the Americans to desert from the colours of the republic to those of the king. Arnold received this commission with ecstasy; he departed to execute it with fifty transports and sixteen hundred men. The moment he had landed, he commenced the most shocking ravages. Richmond and Smithfield experienced all his fury. But the country was alarmed on all parts, the inhabitants flew to arms: he was obliged to fall back upon Portsmouth, where he laboured to intrench himself. He would not abandon that coast, because he was sensible how much his presence disquieted the Americans. On the other hand, however, he could not with forces so insufficient keep the field in the midst

of a province whose numerous population was animated by the most violent hatred against England.

This piratical expedition, therefore, produced but very imperfectly the effect which the British generals had hoped from it. It delayed, it is true, those succours which the Virginians destined for the Carolinas; but not one of them joined Arnold. Devastations, plunder, conflagrations had no such fascination as could gain him partisans. The campaign had already opened in South Carolina. The two hostile generals manœuvred each according to the plan he had framed. Lord Cornwallis had set out from Winnsborough and was marching between the Broad and Catawba river, on the upper route, towards North Carolina. He had already arrived at Turkey-Creek. To arrest his progress, general Greene resolved to demonstrate an intention to attack Ninety-Six, while colonel Morgan, with five hundred Virginian regulars, some companies of militia and the light horse of colonel Washington was detached to guard the passages of the river Pacolet. As to Greene himself, he went to encamp at the confluence of Hicks-Creek with the Pedee, opposite to Cheraw-Hill. He was blamed by many military critics, for having thus divided his forces. In effect, if the English had pushed rapidly forward, they might have thrown themselves between the corps of Greene and Morgan, and crushed them both without difficulty. But perhaps the American general had calculated that the royalists were embarrassed by too many obstacles to act with such celerity; perhaps also he had not yet heard of the junction of Leslie and Cornwallis. The latter general immediately de-

tached Tarleton with his legion of cavalry and a body of infantry to cover Ninety-Six. On arriving in that part, Tarleton found every thing quiet: the enemy had retired after some light skirmishes. He then determined to march against Morgan, confident of being able either to rout him by surprise, or at least to drive him beyond the Broad river, which would have left the ways clear to the royal army. He consulted Lord Cornwallis by letter, who not only approved his design, but resolved also to concur to its execution, by ascending the left bank of the Broad, in order to menace the rear of Morgan. Every thing went well for them at first. Tarleton, after having passed with equal celerity and good fortune the rivers Ennoree and Tiger, presented himself upon the banks of the Pacolet. Morgan retreated thence forthwith, and Tarleton set himself to pursue him. He pressed him hard. Morgan felt how full of danger was become the passage of Broad river, in the presence of so enterprising an enemy as now hung upon his rear. He therefore thought it better to make a stand. He formed his troops in two divisions; the first composed of militia, under the conduct of colonel Pickens, occupied the front of a wood, in view of the enemy: the second, commanded by colonel Howard, was concealed in the wood itself, and consisted of his marksmen and old continental troops. Colonel Washington, with his cavalry, was posted behind the second division, as a reserve. Tarleton soon came up and formed in two lines; his infantry in the centre of each, and his horse on the flanks. Every thing seemed to promise him victory. He was superior in cavalry, and his troops,

both officers and soldiers, manifested an extreme ardour. The English attacked the first American line; after a single discharge with little harm to the enemy, it fled in confusion. They then fell upon the second; but here they found a more obstinate resistance. The action was engaged and supported with equal advantage. Tarleton, to decide it in his favour, pushed forward a battalion of his second line, and at the same time directed a charge of cavalry upon the right flank of the Americans. He was afraid to attack their left, supported by colonel Washington, who had already vigorously repulsed an assault of the British light horse. The manœuvre of Tarleton had the expected effect; the American regulars gave way and were thrown into disorder. The English rushed on, persuaded that the day was now their own. Already Tarleton with his cavalry was in full pursuit of the routed, when colonel Washington, whose troop was still entire, fell upon the enemy with such impetuosity, that in a few moments he had restored the battle. During this interval, colonel Howard had rallied his continental troops, and led them back upon the English. Colonel Pickens had also, by prodigious efforts, re-assembled the militia and again brought them to the fire. Morgan was visible everywhere; his presence and words re-animated the spirits of his soldiers. He profited of that moment of enthusiasm to precipitate them in one general charge upon the enemy. The shock was so tremendous that the English at first paused, then recoiled, and soon fled in confusion. The Americans pursued them with inexpressible eagerness. It was in vain that the British officers em-

ployed exhortations, prayers and threats to stay the fugitives: the discomfiture was total. Tarleton lost, in dead, wounded and prisoners, more than eight hundred men, two pieces of cannon, the colours of the seventh regiment, all his carriages and baggage. He regretted especially the horses killed or taken in this engagement. The nature of the country, which is flat and open, renders cavalry of the utmost importance to a campaign in that quarter.

Such was the issue of the battle of Cowpens, the effects of which were heavily felt by the English during the whole course of the war of the Carolinas and Virginia; it was, in a word, decisive of the fate of those provinces. The destruction of the British cavalry, the total defeat of Tarleton, who had been, until that epoch, the terror of the inhabitants, animated them with fresh spirits. Dejection and despondency were exchanged for confidence and enthusiasm. The Congress voted public thanks to colonel Morgan, and presented him with a medal of gold. Colonels Washington and Howard received medals of silver, and colonel Pickens a sword.

The news of the sanguinary check of Cowpens was extremely afflictive to Lord Cornwallis. He had lost in it the best part of his light troops, and they were to have been the principal instrument of his ulterior operations. But far from allowing himself to be discouraged by this blow, he resolved to prosecute his designs with the corps he had left. He hoped to obtain from it the same service as from light troops, by destroying his heavy baggage, and all the carriages that were not of absolute necessity. Two entire days were employed in the destruction of su-

perfluous incumbrances. A few wagons only were kept for the accommodation of the sick and wounded, and the transportation of salt and ammunition. The soldier witnessed the annihilation of his most valuable effects: the casks containing wine and rum were all staved, and the troops set forward with no other provision than a small quantity of flour. The royal army submitted to all these inconveniences with admirable temper and patience, and manifested the utmost eagerness to accomplish the wishes of its general. He had two objects in view at that time. One was, to fall immediately upon Morgan, worst him, retake the prisoners he had made, and prevent his junction with general Greene, who still continued upon Hicks-Creek. The second, and by far the most important, was to push forward by forced marches upon Salisbury and towards the sources of the Yadkin, before Greene should have crossed that river. If he effected this design, it followed of necessity that the American general would be cut off from the succours he expected from Virginia, and constrained either to retreat precipitately with the loss of his artillery and baggage, or to accept a battle under every disadvantage. Lord Cornwallis set out upon the first of these projects. He directed his march with celerity upon the Catawba, in the hope of surprising and crushing Morgan before he could pass that river. But the Americans were upon their guard. After his victory of Cowpens, Morgan, who knew very well that Cornwallis was not far off, had sent his prisoners upon his rear, under the guard of an experienced officer, and soon after set forward himself with all his troops towards the Catawba.

Such was the diligence of his march, that on the twenty-ninth of January he had crossed the river, with all his artillery, stores, baggage and prisoners. The Americans were no sooner upon the left bank than the British appeared on the right: the chagrin of Cornwallis is readily conceived. Morgan, still keeping his prisoners on the march towards Virginia, neglected no measures that might tend if not to arrest at least to retard the progress of the royal troops. But they soon had even the elements to contend with. There had fallen the preceding night such an abundant rain in the neighbouring mountains, that the ford of the Catawba became immediately impassable. If this swell of the waters had taken place a few hours sooner, Morgan would have found himself in a critical position.

In this state of things, general Greene arrived at the camp of Morgan, and took the command upon himself. Penetrating the designs of Cornwallis, he had left orders with the troops stationed at Hicks-Creek, to make the best of their way; without baggage or incumbrance of any sort, towards the mountainous part, in order to approach the sources of the rivers where they become more fordable. Their point of rendezvous was indicated at Guildford Court-House, in North Carolina. Whilst Greene rejoined the corps of Morgan, upon the left bank of the Catawba, general Huger executed his orders with as much zeal as intelligence. The rains were such as to be thought extraordinary even at this season; the bridges were broken, the streams excessively swoln, the roads deep and heavy, or stony and knobbed by frost. The soldiers were destitute of shoes, of

clothing, and often of bread. They seemed to vie with the English in constancy, and supported all their sufferings without a murmur. Not one of them deserted, and in this respect they had more merit than their adversaries. The Americans in disbanding, repaired to their homes and repose; whereas the English deserter must have wandered in a country where every thing opposed him. During the march of this division upon Guildford, the waters of the Catawba diminished, and the royal troops prepared themselves to cross it. But the republicans seemed determined to dispute their passage. Besides the intrepid phalanx of Morgan, all the militia of the counties of Rohan and Mecklenburgh, where the British name was loathed, had assembled upon that point. Notwithstanding these obstacles, Cornwallis took a resolution to attempt the enterprise.

He was excited to this movement by the hope of giving the enemy a decisive blow, either by reaching the corps of Huger before its arrival at Guildford, or by throwing himself between it and Virginia. He accordingly marched and counter-marched along the right bank of the Catawba, holding out an intent to pass in different places, in order to elude the attention of the Americans. But his real design was to cross at Gowans-Ford. In effect, on the morning of the first of February, the English entered the water; the river was broad, deep, and full of large stones. The republicans were drawn up on the left bank, and commanded by general Davidson. But this corps was composed entirely of militia; Morgan with his veterans guarded another passage. The English, however, had to encounter a very brisk and well

directed fire: but they supported it with intrepidity, successfully traversed the bed of the river, and gained the opposite bank. The Americans were formed to receive them, and the action commenced. General Davidson was killed at the first discharge; his militia betook themselves to flight, and the detachments posted at other points ran off in the same manner. The whole royal army arrived without obstacle upon the left bank. A single corps of militia, amidst the general rout, made a stand at the post of Tarrant: Colonel Tarleton charged them vigorously and routed them with severe execution. But colonel Morgan retired untouched, and with celerity towards Salisbury. He hoped to arrive there in season to cross the Yadkin at that place, and thus to put a large river between him and the royal army. The English followed him with great ardour, panting to take their revenge for the defeat of Cowpens. But the American displayed so much activity, and threw so many impediments in the way of his pursuers, that he passed the Yadkin with all his troops, and without any loss, in the first days of February; partly by the ford, and partly in batteaux. He drew all the boats he could find to the left bank. The English at length arrived, under the conduct of general O'Hara. They perceived the enemy drawn up on the opposite side, prepared to oppose their passage. They would, nevertheless, have attempted it but for the sudden swell of the Yadkin, through the rains that fell that very day. The pious inhabitants of America considered this sudden increment of the rivers as a manifest token of the protection which heaven granted to the justice of their cause. They

observed, that if the waters of the Catawba, and afterwards those of the Yadkin, had swelled a few hours sooner, their army, unable to cross, must have been cut in pieces by the furious enemy that pursued it. If, on the contrary, these rivers had not increased all of a sudden, a few hours later, the British would have passed as easily as the Americans, and would have intercepted their retreat. These two consecutive events, and the critical moment at which they took place, were esteemed alike providential. Seeing the impossibility of crossing the Yadkin at the ford of Salisbury, which is the most commodious, and the most frequented, Cornwallis resolved to march up the river, hoping to find it fordable at the place where it branches; this he effected; but the delay occasioned by the circuit, afforded the Americans time enough to reach Guildford without being disquieted. It was there, that, on the seventh of February, the two divisions of the American army operated their junction; that of general Huger which, notwithstanding all his diligence, was the last to arrive, and that of colonel Morgan. Greene felt the more joy at this union, as it was highly honourable to his ability. Thus by the prudence of the American commanders, and by the fortitude and celerity of their soldiers, together with a happy coincidence of fortuitous causes, was defeated the double plan of Lord Cornwallis. He could neither exterminate Morgan, nor prevent his re-union with Huger. There remained now but one operation which could indemnify him for so many losses; and that was to cut Greene off from Virginia. The two armies were already upon the confines of that province. It is se-

parated from North Carolina by the Roanoke, which in its upper part is called the Dan. The British general conceiving that river not fordable in the lower parts, calculated that if he could gain the high country, he should be at liberty to move as he might see fit. For supposing that Greene could not pass the Dan, he would then be surrounded on all sides; on the north by Cornwallis himself, on the west by great rivers, on the south by Lord Rawdon, who remained at Cam Camden with a respectable force, and on the east by the sea. Moreover, notwithstanding the juncture of the American troops, they were still so inferior to those of the English, that the latter considered themselves perfectly assured of a complete victory. The two parties were equally aware that success must depend on the rapidity of marches: they accordingly both bent their course, with all possible velocity, upon the fordable parts of the Dan. The English, desirous to repair the time lost in their preceding passages, exerted prodigious efforts, and occupied the fords the first. The position of Greene was now truly critical. He turned rapidly towards a lower ford, called Boyds-Ferry, uncertain of the safety or destruction of his army, since he was ignorant if that ford was practicable. The royal troops pursued him with vehemence; they looked upon their approaching victory as a positive certainty. Greene, in so pressing an emergency, summoned all the faculties of his soul, and did all that could have been expected of a consummate general.

He formed a strong corps of his best light troops, consisting in the regiments of cavalry of Lee, of Bland, and of Washington, in companies of light in-

fantry, drawn from regiments of the line, and in some riflemen. He charged the commander of this corps to sustain the efforts of the enemy, and to bear in mind that the salvation of the army was in his hands. As to himself, with the rest of his troops and the heavy baggage, he proceeded with all expedition towards Boyds-Ferry. The royalists pushed forward with eagerness from Salem to the sources of the Haw, from that point to Reedy-Fork, from there to Troublesome-Creek, and thence towards the Dan. But the detached corps which has just been mentioned, by continual skirmishes, and the breaking up of roads and bridges, materially retarded their march. Greene had already reached the margin of the river; he found it fordable: some boats at hand accelerated the passage, he gained the Virginian shore; all the baggage was passed over with equal success. Even the gallant rear-guard, which had preserved the army, arrived a little after, and crossed with the same happy auspices, to the safe side of the river.

It was not long before the English, full of earnestness, made their appearance upon the right of the Dan: they perceived upon the opposite bank the American army formed in menacing array. All their hopes were vanished; the fruit of all their efforts, of all their sufferings, was lost irrecoverably. The retreat of general Greene and the pursuit of Lord Cornwallis, are worthy to be placed among the most remarkable events of the American war; they would have done honour to the most celebrated captains of that, or any former epoch.

Compelled so unexpectedly to relinquish the object of his sanguine hope, Lord Cornwallis meditated

upon the course he had now to pursue. The attack of Virginia, with forces so enfeebled as were his own, appeared to him the more perilous, as the American army preserved the most imposing attitude. Under this consideration, he determined to remain in North Carolina, of which he was master, and set himself to levy troops in the name of the king. With this intent, he quitted the banks of the Dan, and repaired by easy marches to Hillsborough; where having erected the royal standard, he invited the inhabitants, by an energetic proclamation, to form themselves into regular companies. But these efforts were not attended with the success he had hoped; a great number of the country people came to his head quarters, but the greater part to satisfy their curiosity, to gain intelligence, and to make their profit of it. All manifested an extreme repugnance to arming against the Congress. Lord Cornwallis complained publicly of their coldness. He saw that he could place no dependence upon the assistance of the people of this province, formerly so celebrated for their attachment to the name of the king. The long domination of the republicans, and the horrible enormities committed by the royal troops in different parts of the American continent, had given birth to sentiments of quite another cast. Insensibly detached from the cause of the king, the inhabitants, besides, could not forget the vicinity of the republican army, which at any moment might again penetrate into their province. About this time, a British squadron, and a body of troops detached from Charleston, took possession of Wilmington, a city of North Carolina, situated not far from the mouth of Cape Fear river. They fortified themselves

there, seized munitions of war, and even some vessels, both French and American. This expedition had been ordered by Cornwallis prior to his departure from Winnsborough, in pursuit of Morgan. Its principal object was that of opening a communication between the country about Hillsborough and the sea, by the way of Cape Fear river; an object of the utmost importance, as it afforded a sure mode of passing supplies to the army.

The retreat of Greene into Virginia, although it had not produced upon the minds of those Carolinians who remained faithful to the king, all that effect which Cornwallis had expected from it, had, nevertheless, excited in some, fresh hopes and desires of a new order of things. The British general redoubled his efforts and instances to induce them to take arms. The district situated between the Haw and the Deep river, was represented as particularly abounding in loyalists; Cornwallis sent them Tarleton to animate and inbody them. His exhortations were not in vain. The family of Pill, one of the most considerable of the country, was also the most ardent to give the example. Already a colonel of that family had assembled a considerable body of his most audacious partisans, and was on his way to join Tarleton. But general Greene, who was fully sensible how prejudicial it would prove to the arms of Congress if he suffered its cause to succumb entirely in North Carolina, and fearing lest the loyalists might operate a revolution in that province, had detached anew upon the right bank of the Dan, a body of cavalry under the conduct of colonel Lee, with a view of intimidating the partisans of England,

re-assuring those of the Congress, and disquieting the movements of the enemy in the interior of the country. He intended also himself, as soon as he should have received his re-enforcements, which were already on the march, to re-pass the river, and show himself again upon the territory of the Carolinas. The recovery of those provinces was the fixed aim of all his thoughts.

Meanwhile, colonel Lee was by no means tardy in acting according to the instructions of his general. The troop assembled by colonel Pill was the first that fell in his way. These loyalists, totally unacquainted with the profession of arms, knew so little how to clear their march, that thinking they were going to meet Tarleton, they threw themselves headlong into the corps of Lee. The American enveloped and charged them with rapid vigour. The loyalists, still supposing their affair was with Tarleton, and that he mistook them for republicans, were eager to make themselves known by reiterated cries of "Long live the king." The fury of the assailants did but rage the fiercer, and in a few instants all that survived were obliged to surrender. Thus, this inexperienced troop was led to slaughter by a presumptuous chief, who had imagined that the spirit of party could fill the place of knowledge and talents. At the news of this event, which was rather an execution than a combat, Tarleton, who was not far off, put himself in motion with intent to encounter Lee; but an order of Cornwallis checked him, and drew him back to Hillsborough. The cause of this sudden resolution of the British general, was, that Greene, though even yet he had received only a small part of

his re-enforcements, had boldly re-passed the Dan, and menaced again to overrun Carolina. Not, however, that his real intention was to give his adversary battle before having assembled his whole force; but he wished to show Cornwallis and the patriots of the province that he was in being, and able to keep the field. He chose a position upon the left of the Dan, and very high up, towards the sources of the Haw, in order to avoid the necessity of fighting. Cornwallis, on hearing that the American banners had re-appeared in Carolina, quitted Hillsborough forthwith, and, crossing the Haw at a lower ford, proceeded to encamp near Allemance-Creek, detaching Tarleton with his cavalry to scour the country as far as Deep river. Thus the two armies found themselves so near each other, as to be separated only by the river Haw. Hence frequent skirmishes ensued. In one of these rencounters, Tarleton did great mischief to the corps of Lee, which was joined by the mountaineers and militia, under the command of captain Preston. The two generals manœuvred a long time with uncommon ability; the American to avoid battle, the Englishman to force him to it. Greene had the good fortune, or the skill, to continue master of his movements. But, towards the middle of March, he received re-enforcements, which consisted principally of continental troops. He was joined, at the same time, by militia from Virginia, under the conduct of general Lawson, as also by some Carolinian militia, led by the generals Butler and Eaton. Having acquired more confidence in his strength, Greene took a resolution no longer to decline a decisive action, but, on the contrary, to march directly to the

enemy. He accordingly pushed forward with all his troops, and took post at Guildford Court-House. He had reflected that being superior in number, and principally in cavalry, he could not experience a total and irreparable defeat. The worst consequence that could follow a loss of battle, was that of placing him under the necessity of retiring into Virginia, where he would have found the utmost facility in re-establishing his army. He had also to consider that the numerous militia assembled in his camp would soon disband, unless he availed himself immediately of their first ardour. On the other hand, if the English were beaten, far from their ships, entangled in a country where they were detested, and without means of retreat, how could their army escape a total destruction? They had therefore much more at risk than the Americans, in referring the decision of their fate to the chance of arms.

Lord Cornwallis saw distinctly, on his part, that it would be an inexcusable imprudence to remain longer in the midst of a population, which every thing taught him to distrust, while a formidable enemy menaced him in front. But retreat, in all respects so prejudicial to the interests of the king, was accompanied with so many dangers, that it became next to impracticable. In turning his eyes upon his camp, the British general beheld all soldiers nurtured in the toils of war, and trained to victory in a host of combats. Banishing then all hesitation, he embraced if not the least perilous, assuredly the most honourable course, and gave orders to advance upon Guildford. This resolution was undertaken irrevocably to put an end to uncertainties by striking a decisive blow. To re-

lieve his march, and facilitate his retreat, in case of a check, Lord Cornwallis sent his carriages and baggage under strong escort to Bells-Mills, a place situated upon the Deep river. Greene in like manner passed his wagons to Iron-Works, ten miles in the rear of his position. The reconnoitring parties of the two armies went out in all directions for intelligence. The legion of Lee and that of Tarleton fell in with each other in one of these excursions, and a fierce conflict ensued. Lee at first had the advantage; but he was obliged to give way in his turn, when Tarleton had been re-enforced. These skirmishes were but the prelude of the battle for which both parties were preparing themselves.

The Americans, on their side, numbered about six thousand men, the greater part militia of Virginia and North Carolina; the remainder consisted in regular troops from Virginia, Maryland and Delaware. The English, including the Hessians, amounted to upwards of twenty-four hundred soldiers. All the adjacent country was clothed with thick wood, interspersed, here and there, with spots of cultivation. A gentle and woody declivity traversed and extended far on both sides of the great road which leads from Salisbury to Guildford. This road itself runs through the centre of the forest. In front, and before coming to the foot of the hill, there was a field six hundred yards in breadth. Behind the forest, between its lower edge and the houses of Guildford, lay another field still more open, and adapted to military evolutions. General Greene had thrown troops into the wood that covered the slope, and had likewise occupied the contiguous plain. In this position he

purposed to receive the enemy. His order of battle consisted in three divisions; the first, composed of the militia of North Carolina, and commanded by the generals Butler and Eaton, was posted towards the foot of the hill, upon the fore edge of the forest; its front was covered by a thick hedge: two pieces of cannon defended the great road. The second division comprised the militia of Virginia, under the conduct of the generals Stevens and Lawson: it was formed in the wood parallel to the first, and about eight hundred yards behind it. The regular troops, under general Huger and colonel Williams, filled the plain which extends from the forest to Guildford; this ground permitted them to manœuvre, and to signalize their valour. Two other pieces of cannon, planted upon an eminence which covered their flank, commanded also the highway.

Colonel Washington, with his dragoons and Linch's riflemen, flanked the right wing, and colonel Lee, with a detachment of light infantry and the dragoons of Campbell, the left. The British general drew up on his part. General Leslie, with an English regiment and the Hessian regiment of Bose, occupied the right of the first line: and colonel Webster with two English regiments the left. A battalion of guards formed a sort of reserve to the first, and another under general O'Hara to the second. The artillery and grenadiers marched in close column upon the great road. Tarleton was posted there likewise with his legion; but his orders were not to move, except upon emergency, until the infantry, after having carried the forest, should have advanced into the plain behind it, where cavalry could operate with

facility. The action was commenced on both sides by a brisk cannonade. The English, afterwards leaving their artillery behind, rushed forward through the fire of the enemy into the intermediate plain. The Carolinian militia suffered them to approach without flinching, then began to fire. The English made but one discharge and immediately ran forward to charge with bayonets. The Carolinians showed no firmness. Without awaiting the shock of the enemy, notwithstanding the strength of their position, they recoiled, and took shamefully to flight. Their officers vainly endeavoured to dissipate their terror and to rally them. Thus the first line of the American army was totally routed. General Stevens, seeing the panic of the Carolinian militia, hastened to reassure those he commanded, by giving out that the others had orders to fall back, after the first discharges. He opened his ranks to let the fugitives pass, and re-closed them immediately. The English still advancing, attacked the militia of Virginia. These bravely withstood their shock, and disputed the ground with them for some time. At length, obliged to give way, they also fell back, not without some disorder, upon the continental troops. Meanwhile, as well by the effect of the combat, as from the inequality of the ground, and thickness of the wood, the line of the British was likewise broken, and open in several places. Their commanders, to fill up these vacant spaces, pushed forward the two reserves. Then, all this division having passed the forest, formed in the plain that was behind it and fell upon the continental troops: but all the impetuosity of this attack was of no avail against the intre-

pidity of that division. Their resistance was so obstinate that victory for a while appeared uncertain. General Leslie, finding he could make no impression upon the left of the Americans, and having suffered excessively in the attempt, was constrained to retire behind a ravine, in order to await the news of what might have passed in other parts. The action was supported in the centre with inexpressible fierceness. Colonel Stewart, with the second battalion of guards, and a company of grenadiers, had fallen so vigorously upon the troops of Delaware, that he had broken them, and taken from them two pieces of cannon; but the Marylanders came promptly to their assistance, and not only restored the battle, but even forced the English to recoil in disorder. At this moment colonel Washington came up with his cavalry, charging the royalists with impetuosity; he put them to flight, cut most of them down, and recovered the two pieces of cannon.

Colonel Stewart himself perished in the carnage. At this instant the fate of the day hung by a single thread. If the Americans had done all that was in their power, the whole British army was crushed. After the defeat of the British guards, and the death of Stewart, if the republicans had occupied the hill which rises on the side of the great road upon the hinder border of the wood, and furnished it with artillery, it cannot be doubted that victory would have declared for them. For then the English would not have had power to advance fresh troops into that part: their left wing would have been separated from the centre and right; and the battalions of guards would not have been able to recover from the confu-

sion into which they had been thrown. But the Americans, content with the advantage they had already obtained, instead of taking possession of the height, repaired to the posts they occupied before the engagement. At sight of this error, lieutenant colonel Macleod hastened to take advantage of it; he advanced the artillery, placed it upon the aforesaid eminence, and opened a destructive fire against the front of the continental troops. The grenadiers and another English regiment re-appeared at the same instant upon the right of the plain, and made a vigorous charge upon their flank. Another English regiment fell at the same time upon their left, and Tarleton came up at full speed with his legion. General O'Hara, though dangerously wounded, had succeeded in rallying the British guards. All these succours arrived so opportunely that the disorder of the centre and first line was promptly repaired.

The American regulars, who had to sustain unsupported the whole weight of the action, finding themselves assailed on so many parts, began to think of their retreat. They made it step by step, without breaking their ranks; and invariably preserving a menacing attitude. They were constrained, however, to abandon upon the field of battle not only the two field pieces which they had re-taken, but two others besides. Colonel Webster, then rejoining the centre with his left wing, made a brisk charge upon the extremity of the right of Greene, and forced it to give way. Cornwallis abstained from sending the cavalry of Tarleton's legion in pursuit of the Americans; he had need of them in another part. His right was still engaged with the left of Greene. The Hes-

sian regiment of Bose, commanded by colonel de Buy, who in this day displayed an undaunted valour, and the other British troops, exerted the most desperate efforts to break the enemy, who defended himself with equal gallantry. The ground was rough, and incumbered with trees and bushes; the Americans availed themselves of it to combat as marksmen with their accustomed dexterity. If broken, they reformed, if forced to retire, they returned, if dispersed, they rallied, and charged anew. In the height of this engagement, or rather of this multitude of partial rencounters, Tarleton, who had defiled behind the right wing of the royalists, and who was covered by the smoke of their arms, as they had purposely fired all together to this end, fell briskly upon the enemy, and in a moment swept them from the ground they occupied. The militia threw themselves into the wood, and the Hessians at last found themselves entirely disengaged from this long and obstinate conflict.

Thus terminated the stubborn and much varied battle of Guildford, which was fought on the fifteenth of March. The American loss in killed, wounded, prisoners, and missing, amounted to upwards of thirteen hundred men. The prisoners were few. Almost all the wounded belonged to the continental troops, and the fugitives dispersed, or returned to their homes, to the militia. The generals Huger and Stevens, were among the wounded. The loss of the British was, in proportion to their number, much more considerable. Their dead and wounded exceeded six hundred. Besides colonel Stewart, they had to lament colonel Webster. The generals Howard and O'Hara, the first in the army after Lord

Cornwallis, and Colonel Tarleton, received very severe wounds.

After the action, Greene withdrew behind the Reedy-fork, where he remained some time to collect the fugitives and stragglers. Afterwards continuing his retreat, he went to encamp at Iron-Works upon Troublesome-Creek. Cornwallis remained master of the field of battle. But he was not merely unable to reap any of the ordinary fruits of victory, he was even constrained to embrace those counsels, which are the usual resource of the vanquished. The fatigue of his soldiers, the multitude of his wounded, the strength of the new position which the American general had taken, and the superiority of the enemy in light troops, and particularly in cavalry, prevented him from pursuing his success. Moreover, the number and spirit of the partisans of Congress seemed to increase with the coldness of the loyalists. Far from rearing the crest after the battle of Guildford, they showed themselves quite deaf to the invocations of Cornwallis, who urged them to take arms and assemble under his banners. To crown his embarrassments, the scarcity of provision became continually more and more sensible. These motives united determined the British general to fall back as far as Bell's-Mills, upon the Deep river; leaving at New Garden, those of his wounded that were least in condition to move. They fell into the power of the republicans.

After having given his troops a few days repose at Bell's-Mills, and collected some provision, he marched towards Cross-Creek upon the road to Wilmington. Greene followed him briskly, and with

a cloud of light infantry and horse continually infested his rear. He did not cease the pursuit till Cornwallis had arrived at Ramsays-Mills. The British had destroyed the bridge at that place over the Deep river, and the country being excessively steril, afforded no means of sustenance. Swayed, however, by his daring and enterprising character, the American general resolved to profit of the present condition of the royalists. He took the determination to march boldly upon South Carolina, which was then almost entirely stripped of troops. He accordingly defiled by forced marches towards Cambden. Though worsted at Guildford, Greene thus showed himself in the field, with forces more formidable than ever. It was the victors who fled before the vanquished; the latter seemed to have gained new alacrity and new ardour by their reverses.

After a painful march, Lord Cornwallis reached Wilmington, on the seventh of April. Here he held a council upon two operations, both of extreme importance. One was to repair forthwith to the relief of South Carolina; the other to march into Virginia, in order to make his junction with the troops of Arnold, and with those which had lately been sent thither under the conduct of general Phillips. The British generals were much divided in opinion respecting the course to be adopted in a conjuncture which might decide the fate of the whole war. Some were inclined that the army should march immediately into Virginia. They alleged "that all the country between the Cape-Fear river and Cambden was poor, exhausted, and interrupted by frequent rivers and creeks: that the passage of the Pedee in the presence

of so formidable an enemy, was a rash enterprise: that the road by Georgetown presented the same difficulties: that the transportation of the troops to Charleston by sea, was an undertaking that would require too much time and toil: that there was nothing to fear for the latter city: that by attacking Virginia with an imposing force, Greene would be forced to abandon the Carolinas: that it would be impossible to arrive in time to the relief of Lord Rawdon, who was then at Camhden; and, that if he was beaten before the arrival of re-enforcements, these succours themselves would be exposed to the almost inevitable peril of being cut in pieces by an enemy incomparably superior in force."

The partisans of the contrary opinion maintained, "that the roads of Virginia were not less, and perhaps more difficult than those of the Carolinas: that the tediousness of embarkations proceeded always from cavalry, and that this might easily make its way good by land; the cavalry officers had asserted it, and especially Tarleton, who had offered to execute it: that consequently, with fair wind, nothing was easier than to arrive in season to the succour of the Carolinas: that since it had not been possible to conquer Virginia, it was essential at least to retain those provinces: that the invasion of Virginia involved the certain sacrifice of two provinces, already in possession, if not of three, for the dubious prospect of gaining one only: that the people of the Carolinas, imboldened by the approach of Greene, and by the distance of the royal army, were already openly tending to a new order of things: that the colonels Sumpter and Marion showed themselves audaciously in the open

field: that if there was nothing to fear for Charleston, there was assuredly equal reason for security with respect to Cambden, defended by a numerous garrison, and a general as skilful as valiant: that so long as the places of Charleston and Cambden should remain in the power of his majesty, the Carolinas could not be wrested from his authority, without being immediately and easily replaced under the yoke: that it was deeply to be regretted that the march upon Cambden had not been undertaken at the very moment when, the army being still upon Cross-Creek, it was ascertained that thence to Wilmington the Cape-Fear river no longer afforded an open and safe navigation: that whatever uncertainty might have been thrown upon the success of this operation by the delays which had already taken place, it was nevertheless still possible, and that, consequently, it ought to be undertaken."

The first opinion obtained. After having made some stay at Wilmington, for the refreshment of his troops and the collection of provision, Cornwallis directed his march upon Virginia. This resolution of the commander of the British forces had the most remarkable consequences: it led to an event which may be considered as the principal cause of the prompt termination of this war, and the consequent acknowledgement of American independence.

END OF BOOK TWELFTH.



BOOK THIRTEENTH.

1781.

AFTER having pursued each other alternately, for a considerable length of time, Greene and Cornwallis diverged, as we have seen, the first upon South Carolina, the second upon Virginia. But while they were thus contending for American provinces, England and Holland were preparing for war, and had even already commenced reciprocal hostilities. The former, who appeared to have anticipated this war for some time back, and who, being already completely armed, could seize the occasion for making it with advantage, hoped, by a sudden and impetuous attack, to level a decisive blow at the power and wealth of her enemy. Such was the motive which had induced her to hasten her declaration of war. It was not doubted in England but that the success which would be gained over Holland, would afford ample compensation for the losses which had been sustained on the part of the French and Americans. The British cabinet expected thus to bring into the negotiations for peace, whenever they should take place, such an aggregate of advantages as would be sufficient to procure it the most favourable conditions. The Hollanders, on the other hand, persuaded themselves that they saw in the simultaneous display of those formidable forces to which they were about to join their own, the sure means of resuscitating their

ancient maritime glory. They were especially elated with the prospect of recovering the rich possessions which had been wrested from them in preceding wars, and of rescuing their commerce from the outrageous vexations of England. The ardour which animated all minds, manifested itself in the preparations that were made in the ports of the republic. The States General ordered the equipment of ninety-four ships of war, of which, eleven of the line, fifteen of fifty guns, two of forty, and the rest of less force. Eighteen thousand seamen formed the crews of this fleet. Fast sailing vessels were despatched to the different Dutch possessions, to apprize the governors of the commencement of hostilities, and to recommend them the greatest vigilance. The king of France ordained that in all the ports of his dominions, any Dutch vessels found therein should receive prompt notice of the new danger they had to fear at sea, on the part of an alert and enterprising enemy. In taking this care of the interests of her new ally, France wished to manifest her gratitude for the warmth with which Holland had espoused her cause. But unfortunately all these precautions could not operate the beneficial effects which were expected from them. The English, who long before the rupture, had meditated the design of attacking Holland, profited with success of all the means which they had prepared for her annoyance, before she had time to put herself in a state of defence. Some ships of war and several merchant vessels with valuable cargoes, fell into their power. In the number of the first was the Rotterdam, of fifty guns, which was taken by the Warwick ship of the line. But these

losses were trivial, in comparison with those which the Dutch sustained in the East Indies. The British commanders in that part had received early instructions to make themselves masters of the possessions of the republic, whether insular or continental. The security of a long peace had occasioned in them a desuetude of all defensive precautions; and thus the riches therein amassed, might easily become the prey of the first enemy who should present himself.

Admiral Rodney, who towards the close of the preceding year had returned from New York to St. Lucia, and general Vaughan concerted their operations forthwith. Herein they moved with the more alacrity, as the king, by a late order, had granted to his land and sea officers a considerable part of the booty that should be gained upon the Dutch. After a vain attempt to re-capture the island of St. Vincent, and having, in order to mask the real design, alarmed the inhabitants of Martinico by a sudden appearance upon their coasts, Rodney and Vaughan presented themselves unexpectedly, the third of February, before the island of St. Eustatius, belonging to the Dutch. Their forces consisted of seventeen ships, and four thousand land forces. This island was as defenceless as the wealth it contained was prodigious. Although it is rough and mountainous, and affords one only landing place, and that easily defensible, yet the governor, with a handful of men for all garrison, could have no hope of being able to repulse an attack. The population itself comprised but a very small number of Dutch: the remainder was composed of men of divers countries and sentiments; French, Spaniards, Americans, English, all persons

occupied exclusively with their commerce, and strangers to military service. The governor himself, almost without soldiers and without arms, would sooner have believed any thing else, than that he was menaced with an approaching attack.

The island of St. Eustatius is by nature arid and steril. It produces not above six or seven hundred hogsheads of sugar a year. But it was become at this epoch the most frequented and the richest emporium of the West Indies. Being a free port, it attracted a vast conflux of merchants from all parts of the world, assured of finding in it protection, facility of exchanges, and money in abundance. Its neutrality in the midst of belligerent powers had brought it to this flourishing condition, and rendered it the mart of nations. Thither went the Spaniards and French to dispose of their commodities, and to procure the manufactures of England. Thither repaired the English to sell these merchandises, and to buy those of France and Spain.

But no people derived more profit than the Americans from the fortunate neutrality of Saint Eustatius. They carried thither the produce of their soil, and to the incalculable utility of the cause they defended, they obtained in return, arms and military stores with which the French, Spaniards, Dutch and even the English themselves kept that market well supplied. Hence, an orator of the House of Commons, hurried away by a blameable resentment, did not scruple to say: "That if St. Eustatius had been sunk to the bottom of the ocean, American independence would have been crushed in an instant." The facts which followed were but too much in consonance with this

inhuman language. All Europe resounded with complaints against British avarice.'

Rodney and Vaughan sent a peremptory summons to the governor to surrender the island and its dependencies within an hour; accompanied with a declaration or threat, that if any resistance was made, he must abide by the consequences. M. de Graaff, totally ignorant of the rupture, could scarcely believe the officer who delivered the summons to be serious. He, however, returned for answer, that being utterly incapable of making any defence against the force which invested the island, he must, of necessity, surrender it; only recommending the town and inhabitants to the clemency and mercy of the British commanders. We are about to relate what were the effects of this recommendation. The wealth found in the place was so immense, as to excite the astonishment even of the conquerors, notwithstanding their intimate previous knowledge of its nature and circumstances. All the storehouses were not only filled with the most precious merchandises, but the very streets and beach were covered with hogsheads of tobacco and sugar. The value of the commodities was estimated at a loose, but supposed moderate calculation, as being considerably above three millions sterling. All, without distinction, were seized, inventoried and confiscated.

The loss of the Dutch was severe: it fell principally upon their West India company, with the magistracy and citizens of Amsterdam, to whom a considerable part of the property belonged. The English observed it with no little gratification; they were irritated against that city more than against any other part of the United Provinces, on account of the

warmth it had manifested in favour of France. The greatest weight of the calamity, however, appears to have fallen upon the British merchants, who confiding in the neutrality of the place, and in some acts of parliament, made to encourage the bringing of their property from the islands lately taken by the French, had accumulated a great quantity of West India produce, as well as of European goods, in this place. Nor was the loss of the Dutch confined to the seizure of the merchandise on shore: above two hundred and fifty vessels of all denominations, and many of them richly loaded, were taken in the bay; exclusive of a Dutch frigate of war, of thirty-eight guns, and five armed vessels of less force. But Fortune showed herself still more adverse to the Hollanders. Rodney having information that a fleet of about thirty large ships richly laden with sugar and other West India commodities, had just before his arrival, sailed from Eustatius for Holland, under convoy of a flag ship of sixty guns, he, with his ordinary activity, immediately despatched two ships of the line, the *Monarch* and *Panther*, with the *Sybil* frigate, in pursuit of them. These soon overtook the convoy. The Dutch admiral Krull, notwithstanding the great inferiority of his force, resolved to brave all the dangers of combat, rather than to surrender dishonourably. With his ship, the *Mars*, he engaged the *Monarch* of seventy-four guns; but he was killed soon after the commencement of the action, and his successor immediately struck. The *Panther* and *Sybil* having in the mean time restrained the flight and separation of the merchantmen, the whole convoy was taken.

The Dutch colours were kept up for some time in the fort at St. Eustatius; this stratagem was fatal to a considerable number of French, Dutch and American vessels; which were thus decoyed into the hands of their enemies. The violation of the property of private men, though enemies, a violation not sanctioned by the usages of civilized nations, excited energetic remonstrances on the part of the inhabitants of the British West India islands, and of Great Britain itself, so far as they were interested. They alleged that their connections with St. Eustatius and the property they had lodged in it were all in pursuance to, and under the sanction of repeated acts of the British parliament: that in every age all conquerors who have not chosen to be classed with barbarians, have respected not only the private property of their fellow-citizens, but even that of their enemies; and that this example might have the most pernicious consequences. "In effect," said they, "if, through the incalculable chances of war, our islands should fall into the power of the enemy, would he not be authorized by the right of reprisal to violate the property of private Englishmen, and even to ruin them totally? Did the French give an example of this barbarous conduct when they became masters of Grenada? Did they lay hands upon the property of a single private individual, though they had taken the island by assault, and without any capitulation? If the Count D'Estaing went so far as to sequester until peace the estates of absentees, the court of Versailles was not slow to condemn this resolution of its admiral, by ordering the immediate removal of the sequestrations. St. Eustatius was a free port, and as

such recognized by all the maritime powers of Europe, not excepting England herself. Our laws had not only permitted, but even encouraged a commerce with that island. The officers of the British customs delivered clearances for those very goods destined for St. Eustatius, which are now subjected to confiscation. Has not this trade furnished the means of subsistence to the islands of Antigua and St. Christophers, whose inhabitants, but for this resource, must have perished by famine, or thrown themselves into the arms of the enemy? The colonists of St. Eustatius are indebted in large sums to British merchants; how will they be able to clear these balances if their effects remain confiscated?

“In a word, it is to be presumed that the conquest of the Dutch islands by the arms of the king has been undertaken with nobler views than that of pillaging and ruining their inhabitants.”

All these representations were of no avail. Rodney had acted in strict conformity to the instructions of his government. He answered the complainants, that he could not recover from his astonishment that British merchants, instead of sending their goods into the windward islands belonging to England, had sent them to a leeward island, whither they could only have been transported with intent to supply the wants of the enemies of their king and country. But it is to be observed that if these British merchants were in fault, the commanders of the king's vessels were still more blameable for having brought in and sold at this same port of St. Eustatius, the prizes they had captured at sea: some laden with provisions, others with arms and military stores;

which thus found their way to the enemies of Great Britain, and served to recruit their resources for continuing the war. Rodney added, that the island of St. Eustatius was Dutch, every thing in it was Dutch, was under the protection of the Dutch flag, and as Dutch it should be treated. The vigour of these principles was applied likewise to the neighbouring small islands of St. Martin and Saba, which fell at the same time into the power of the English. But the British commanders, not content with pillaging property, proceeded to wreak their cruelty on persons. All individuals not English, were not only banished from the island, but subjected to the most odious vexations. The Jews, who were numerous and wealthy, were the first to experience the brutality of the conqueror. They were all crowded into the custom house; searched from head to foot: then the skirts of their coats were docked to the waist. Their trunks and portmanteaux were forced open and ransacked. Stripped of their money and effects, they were, in that state of nakedness and wretchedness, transported as outlaws, and landed on the island of St. Christophers. A sea captain named Santon, was the superintendent and chief executioner of the barbarity of his chiefs. The Americans soon shared the fate of the Jews. After having undergone a total spoliation, these unhappy people were sent to St. Christophers, as a race devoted to misery and death. Among them, however, were many of those loyalists, who had been obliged to fly their native country through the part which they had taken in support of the British cause and government.

Thus expelled by their fellow-citizens as friends to the English, and expelled by the English as friends to the Americans, these ill-fated refugees were punished as severely for having preserved their fidelity towards the king, as if they had violated it. The assembly of St. Christophers manifested the most honourable compassion for these victims at once of rapine and of cruelty; they passed an immediate act for their relief and future provision, until they should have time to recover from their calamitous situation. The French and Dutch merchants were banished the last from St. Eustatius. This decree was executed with particular rigour towards those of Amsterdam. In the meantime public sales were advertised, invitation given, and protection afforded, to purchasers of all nations and sorts; and the island of St. Eustatius became one of the greatest auctions that ever was opened in the universe. It was attended by an immense concourse of the merchants of friendly or neutral nations: they bought as well for their own account as on commission for the French and Spaniards, to whom their vicinity and the war rendered these goods more valuable. Thus, after having so cruelly treated the inhabitants of St. Eustatius, under the pretence that they had supplied the enemies of England, in the ordinary way of commerce, the British commanders undertook themselves to supply those enemies by opening a public market, and bidding buyers by proclamation. Never perhaps was a more considerable sale: the gains of Rodney and Vaughan were immense; but it was fated that they should not long enjoy them; heaven, as we

shall soon see, had in reserve an exemplary chastisement for their avarice.

The loss of St. Eustatius was not the only misfortune which befell the Dutch in the West Indies. It seemed as if the English, in their zeal to reduce their new enemy, had forgotten that they had any other to encounter. Holland possessed on the continent of South America, in that vast country anciently called Guiana, the important colony of Surinam. The governor had made no preparations for defence; he was even ignorant of the declaration of war. But all of a sudden, he was visited by a squadron of British privateers, mostly belonging to Bristol. In contempt of all danger, they entered the rivers of Demerary and Issequibo, and brought out from under the guns of the Dutch forts and batteries, almost all the vessels of any value in either river. The colonists of that part, seized with consternation at the approach of these audacious cruisers, sent to make a tender of their submission to the governor of Barbadoes; requiring no other terms but a participation of those which had been granted to St. Eustatius, without knowing, however, what they were. The governor readily consented to their wishes. When shortly after they were apprized of the fate of St. Eustatius, they began to tremble for their own. But Rodney showed himself more humane towards the colonists of Demerary, Issiquibo, and Berbice, who had voluntarily put themselves under the British dominion, than he had been towards those of St. Eustatius. He guarantied the safety of persons and property, and made no change in their existing laws and authorities.

Thus fortune everywhere smiled upon the English, in their first attempts against the Dutch possessions in the West Indies. They were less successful against the Spaniards, who had recently invaded, in considerable force, the confines of West Florida. Don Galvez, the governor of Louisiana, and admiral Don Solano, after having been battered by a horrible tempest, had arrived before, and laid siege to Pensacola, the capital of that province. The place was strong: and general Campbell, the commandant, defended himself for a long time with great valour. But a bomb having fallen upon the powder magazine, it exploded, and demolished the principal redoubt. The Spaniards occupied it immediately, and made their dispositions for assaulting the body of the place. Campbell then thought it better to capitulate: he obtained the most honourable conditions. Thus all West Florida, which had been for the English one of the most precious fruits of the war of Canada, returned, after a few years, under the domination of the Spaniards.

The order of history requires that we should now turn our attention from fields of battle, upon the cabinets which directed the operations we have witnessed; and that we should endeavour to describe what was, at this epoch, the policy of the belligerent powers.

The Americans conceived they had grounds to complain bitterly of the French, their allies. They alleged that, saving some vain demonstrations from without, France had afforded them no efficacious assistance whatever; and that she left them to struggle by themselves against a powerful enemy. They affirm-

ed that "the French troops disembarked at Rhode Island, had not been able to render them any service through defect of a sufficient naval force: that they must continue equally useless, so long as they were not supported by a respectable squadron: that no success could be hoped for, in that part, without being master at sea: that meanwhile, the English continued to possess Georgia, the greatest part of South Carolina, all New York, and, moreover, they had now invaded Virginia: that not a French battalion had been seen to move for the defence or recovery of any of these provinces: that while awaiting the co-operation of their allies, the United States were oppressed by the weight of an enterprise so much above their strength, that the war consumed their population, paralyzed all industry, suspended all culture, and, consequently, drained the sources of public revenue; and that to crown so many calamities, there appeared no prospect of their termination."

While the Americans thus vented their discontent, no little astonishment was excited in Europe, that so formidable a coalition should have proved so feeble in effect against the common enemy. Far from bending, the English seemed, on the contrary, to have acquired more elastic forces, and a more daring spirit. They pressed the Americans with vigour, while they held the mastery of the West Indian seas, possessed themselves of the Dutch colonies, made conquests in the East Indies, and kept fortune in equilibrium in Europe. This state of things seemed to cloud the glory of the French and Spanish names. The court of Versailles, as the soul and principal mover of all this mass of forces, was itself the object

of the heavy complaints of the Catholic king, who reproached it for not having promoted the execution of his favourite projects, the conquest of Jamaica, and the reduction of Gibraltar; the siege of which he had already commenced. The Hollanders, on their part, who already felt the anguish of so considerable losses, exclaimed that they were abandoned, without any appearance of sympathy, to perils which they should not have involved themselves in but for the counsels and instigations of France. Their complaints were the more dolorous, as they had just been informed that a formidable expedition was fitting out, in the ports of Great Britain, against the Cape of Good Hope, an establishment so vital for the preservation of their East India commerce. They saw themselves menaced, in the oriental hemisphere, with blows no less cruel than those which had so lately stunned them in the New World. They perceived but too clearly that before it would be possible for them to complete their preparations of defence, and to despatch succours into those remote regions, the English would have time to accomplish their long meditated designs.

Yielding to these various considerations and to the voice of his own interest, the king of France determined to exert twofold vigour and activity in the present campaign, in order to repair the time lost in the preceding year. Accordingly the labours of the arsenal at Brest were pushed with new ardour, while upon the different points of the kingdom, the land forces held themselves in readiness to act. Three principal objects were contemplated by the ministry. The first was, to send such a fleet to the West In-

dies, as when united to the squadron already in the ports of Martinico, should secure to France a maritime superiority in those seas. This fleet, the command of which was intrusted to the Count de Grasse, was to carry out a strong body of land troops. By means of this re-enforcement, the Marquis de Bouille would find himself in a situation to undertake some important expedition against the British islands. After the accomplishment whereof, and before the season of hostilities should have elapsed, the Count de Grasse was to repair to the coasts of America, in order to co-operate with the Count de Rochambeau and general Washington. The second, was to send a squadron into the African seas, in order to shield the Cape of Good Hope from the danger that menaced it. After having provided for the security of that colony, the squadron was to proceed to the East Indies, where admiral Hughes had given a temporary superiority to the British flag. Finally, the ministers meditated a brilliant stroke, in the seas of Europe, in favour of the allied courts, and principally of Spain. An expedition against Minorca was decided with unanimity. The English had penetrated, in great part, the plans of their enemies; and were preparing to oppose them with all those obstacles which they deemed the most likely to render them abortive. They exerted an extraordinary activity in equipping a fleet, which was to carry Lord Cornwallis a re-enforcement of several English regiments and three thousand Hessians. It was hoped that this addition of force would enable that general not only to maintain the conquests he had made, but also to extend still further the pro-

gress of his arms. The victories of Cambden and Guildford had inspired the British nation with new confidence; all promised themselves a speedy conclusion of the war, and the subjugation of America. The British ministers even flattered themselves that the fleet they sent to the West Indies, though it was not considerable, would nevertheless prove sufficient, by its junction with the naval force already stationed there, to uphold the present preponderance of England in those seas. The public attention was particularly attracted by an armament which consisted of one ship of seventy-four guns, one of fifty-four, three of fifty, with some frigates, cutters, fire ships and other light vessels. This squadron was to serve as escort to a great number of transports loaded with an immense quantity of arms and military stores. General Meadows embarked in it with a body of three thousand picked soldiers. The fleet was under the orders of commodore Johnstone. Manifold were the conjectures in public circulation respecting the object of this expedition, which the government studied to cover with impenetrable secrecy. It was generally presumed to be destined for the East Indies, in order to reduce all the French possessions in that part. This supposition, so far as appeared from the events which followed, was not destitute of foundation. But it would seem also that the war which broke out against Holland, constrained the British ministry to change the destination of this armament, or at least to restrict it to the attack of the Cape of Good Hope, and the re-enforcement of the troops which guarded the establishments in the hither peninsula of India.

It was deemed essential to provide for their safety, even though it were not permitted by circumstances to think of conquering those of the enemy. But of all the cares which occupied the British cabinet at this epoch, it assuredly had none more urgent than that of revictualling Gibraltar. Herein, besides the importance of the place, the honour of the British nation was deeply interested. The Spaniards and English seemed to have set each other at defiance at the foot of this rock. The first relying upon the fleet which they had at Cadiz, expected to be able to intercept whatever succours should approach for the relief of the garrison. It already began to suffer excessively from the scarcity of provisions: the supplies which admiral Rodney had introduced the preceding year, were almost entirely consumed, and what remained were so marred as scarcely to be edible. Already general Elliot had been constrained to lessen a fourth of his soldiers ration. In order to give them the example of privations, the officers ceased to dress their hair with powder. But the inhabitants of the city suffered still more from the absolute want of the necessaries of life. Such was the vigilance and such the industry of the Spaniards in their endeavours to cut off all relief by sea, that since the supplies of Rodney scarcely a few small vessels from the African shore and Minorca had been able to make good their entrance into the port of Gibraltar. But how far were these feeble succours from being in proportion to the exigency! Besides, the prices which the masters of these vessels demanded for their commodities were so exorbitant, as to exceed the faculties of the greater part of the inhabitants. The miserable re-

mains of the old provisions, spoilt as they were, commanded extravagant rates.*

The garrison supported all their sufferings with an heroic firmness: but without prompt succours it was impossible to prevent that formidable place, the key of the Mediterranean, from soon returning under the domination of its ancient masters. The general attention, in England, was directed towards this important point.

In Holland, meanwhile, the greatest industry was exerted in equipping a fleet that should be capable of maintaining the dignity of the republic, and of resuscitating its ancient glory. It was particularly intended to protect the commerce of the Baltic against the rapacity of England. These laudable intentions, however, were not attended with all that effect which was to have been wished. The government overruled the conflicting parties, but it could not prevent their fermenting covertly. Beside, a long peace had enervated minds, and caused the neglect of naval preparations.

* Old sea biscuit, quite mouldy, brought a shilling sterling the pound; and difficult to be found. Sour flour, and damaged peas, were worth one shilling and four pence the pound. Black salt, the sweepings of warehouses, eight pence per pound; butter, three shillings per pound; a turkey, when to be had, thirty shillings; a sucking pig, forty shillings; a duck, ten shillings and six pence; a lean fowl, nine shillings; a loin of veal at least a guinea; and the head of an ox was sold at a still greater price. Fire-wood was so scarce, that cold water was used for washing linen, and the flat-iron was dispensed with: a thing which proved very prejudicial to the health of the troops, during the cold, humid season which prevailed in the course of that winter.

Such were, about that time, the projects and dispositions of the powers engaged in this memorable contest. The preparatives of war were immense: the universe was in expectation of the most important events. The English were the first to put to sea. Their intent was to succour Gibraltar. On the thirteenth of March, a fleet of twenty-eight ships of the line set sail from Portsmouth. It was obliged to cruise some days upon the coasts of Ireland, to wait for the victualling ships and merchantmen which were assembled, in very great number, in the road of Cork. The convoys bound to the two Indies departed under the protection of the fleet. When conducted out of danger from the hostile fleets, they were to continue their voyage. The squadron of commodore Johnstone sailed in company with the great fleet: being destined upon the expedition against the Cape of Good Hope, it was to escort the East India convoy up to that point. The armament was commanded by the admirals Darby, Digby, and Lockart Ross, each heading one of the three divisions of which it was composed. The necessity of revictualling Gibraltar was notoriously evident, and the preparations made by Great Britain for its accomplishment, could no longer be concealed. The English themselves openly professed their intentions on that head. The Spaniards were consequently too well advised, not to have taken all the precautions in their power to confound the efforts of their enemies. They had armed, in the port of Cadiz, a fleet of thirty sail of the line. The court had placed it under the conduct of Don Lewis de Cordova, a seaman of high reputation. This was without doubt an imposing force,

and the Spaniards had exaggerated it greatly beyond the truth, in order to deter the English, if possible, from executing their intended enterprise. Wishing to corroborate also by his audacity, any discouraging apprehensions which the enemy might have entertained, Don Lewis often issued from the port of Cadiz to parade along the coasts of Portugal, and even upon the route which the English must keep in sailing towards Gibraltar. The Spaniards, moreover, gave out that they were about to be joined by strong divisions of the French squadrons then at anchor as well in the Atlantic ports as in that of Toulon. There was, in effect, in the single port of Brest, so formidable a fleet, that it would have sufficed alone to make a stand against the whole British armament, and even to engage it with good hope of victory. No less than twenty-six sail of the line were in that port in readiness to put to sea. If this fleet should have made its junction with that of Spain, the allies would have acquired such a preponderance in those seas, as to have rendered the revictualling of Gibraltar an extremely difficult enterprise for the English. The Spaniards confidently depended upon the co-operation of the French. But the latter had it too much at heart to prosecute their designs in the West Indies, and upon the American continent, as likewise to re-establish their affairs in the East, to be willing to direct all their efforts singly towards an object which had no real and direct utility but for Spain alone. Accordingly, the Count de Grasse put to sea, the twenty-second of March, from the port of Brest, shaping his course towards the West Indies. M. de Suffren sailed in company with him, having

under his orders a squadron consisting of five ships of the line, several frigates, and a strong body of land forces. He had instructions to separate from the great fleet off Madeira, and steer to the south, towards the point of Africa; to preserve the Cape of Good Hope, and afterwards proceed to the East Indies. Thus all these naval forces, charged by their respective governments with the most important operations, got under sail almost at the same time. Without the delay which detained the English upon the coasts of Ireland, it is altogether probable that the French would have fallen in with them, and that they would have settled by a decisive battle in the seas of Europe, that quarrel for which they were going to fight in the two Indies.

Admiral Darby, sped by a favourable wind, stood for Cape St. Vincent, which having made, he proceeded with the greatest circumspection, on account of the proximity of the Spanish armament. But Don Lewis de Cordova, who for several days had been cruising in the bay of Cadiz, was no sooner apprized of the approach of the English, than he lost all confidence in his own force. Forgetting the importance of the post he had to defend, instead of awaiting the enemy, he returned with precipitation to Cadiz, leaving him the ways free to Gibraltar.

Admiral Darby reconnoitred Cadiz, and finding the Spaniards were in no disposition to come forth, he immediately pushed forward his convoy, consisting of about a hundred sail, under the guard of a certain number of ships of war. A part of this squadron was to take post in the bay of Gibraltar itself, to cover the transports against the attempts of the Spa-

nish gun-boats; the rest was destined to cruise at the entrance of the Strait, towards the Mediterranean, in order to oppose any hostile force that might present itself on that side. The admiral himself remained before Cadiz to observe the motions of the Spaniards with due diligence. The event justified his dispositions. The gun-boats, it is true, made frequent attacks upon the transports, and that with the more audacity, as their inconsiderable size skreened them in a manner from the effects of the enemy's artillery. The annoyance of this musquito-fleet, put the English out of all patience; but still it had no result of any importance. They succeeded in getting ashore all their munitions of war, and all their provisions: their exultation equalled the consternation of the Spaniards: all Europe was in astonishment. The king of Spain, who had set his heart upon the conquest of Gibraltar, and who had already expended so much treasure in the prosecution of this enterprise, persuaded himself that he was on the point of reaping the fruit of his efforts. When apprized of the event which still retarded the attainment of his hopes, he flattered himself that his land troops would prove, perhaps, more fortunate than his naval forces. His ardour was also stimulated by an eager desire to wipe off the stain which he was apprehensive would attach to his arms from the relief of Gibraltar. The labours of the camp of St. Roch were resumed with increase of activity; the trenches and works which beset the fortress, were furnished with an immense quantity of artillery. The batteries mounted no less than one hundred and sixty pieces of heavy cannon, with eighty mortars of the largest caliber. On the twelfth of April, the British

fleet being still at anchor in the port of Gibraltar, the whole of this train began to shower upon the place its tremendous volleys of balls and bombs. The narrow extent of the spot upon which they fell, left no other refuge to the besieged but the casemates and vaulted places. General Elliot, the governor, did not remain a peaceable spectator of this tempest; he answered it bolt for bolt, thunder for thunder. The whole mountain, enveloped in flame and smoke from its base to its summit, resembled a volcano in the height of the most terrible eruption. The two neighbouring shores of Europe and Africa were lined with people, who had thronged thither to contemplate this dreadful spectacle. But the inhabitants of the unhappy town were more exposed even than the soldiers themselves. Their terror was great, but their dangers were still greater. The limbs of the dead and dying were scattered upon the ground; women with children in arms, ran distractedly imploring a shelter which could not be offered them. Some were seen crushed at the same time with their precious burthen, and torn in a thousand pieces by the bursting bombs. Others with trembling hands let themselves down precipices in order to retire the farthest possible from the seat of danger; many threw themselves into the casemates, where, breathing an infected air, and deprived of repose by the dismal cries of the wounded who expired around them, they thought themselves happy in having escaped an inevitable death. The town, situated upon the declivity of the rock, and next the sea towards the west, was demolished to its foundations. The Spanish gun-boats contributed especially to this disaster.

Under cover of night, they slipped between the British vessels, and after having effected their purpose, profited of a wind, which commonly springs up in the morning, to return to the port of Algeiras. Their destructive fire often reached those unhappy persons who had sought, upon the flank of the mountain, a refuge against the artillery of the Spanish lines. It continued to batter the place for upwards of three weeks with hardly any intermission, and was answered with equal vigour. The firing was then relaxed on both sides; the besiegers became sensible that their efforts resulted in little more than a vain noise, and the besieged thought it imprudent to expend their ammunition without necessity. Scarcely a few shot, discharged by intervals from the fortress, attested that the garrison were upon the alert; the greater part of the time, general Elliot observed, in apparent tranquillity, the fruitless toils of his enemy. It was calculated that in this short space of time, the Spaniards consumed fifty tons of gunpowder; they had fired seventy-five thousand volleys of cannon-balls, and twenty-five thousand of bombs. Notwithstanding the narrowness of the place in which the English were immured, they had lost but few men by the fire of this immense artillery; their wounded did not exceed two hundred and fifty. As to the inhabitants, seeing their houses destroyed, and in continual dread of new disasters, they demanded permission to retire. General Elliot acquiesced in their desires, after having furnished them with all the assistance in his power. The greater part embarked in the fleet which had victualled the place, and repaired to England.

Before it had arrived there, fortune, propitious to the French, inflicted a heavy stroke upon their enemies; which was considered as a just chastisement for the robberies committed at St. Eustatius. Intelligence had been received in France, that a numerous convoy of ships laden with the rich spoils of that island, had left it about the last of March, and were on their way for the ports of Great Britain. It was also known, that this convoy was to be followed by another not less valuable, which was freighted with the produce of Jamaica. The first was guarded by four ships of war under admiral Hotham. The moment could not have been more favourable to the French, since the great English fleet was employed in succouring Gibraltar. The court of Versailles knew very well how to profit of so fair an occasion; it had equipped with great celerity in the port of Brest, a squadron destined to intercept the expected convoys. The Chevalier de la Motte-Piquet put to sea the fifteenth of April, at the head of eight ships of the line, all excellent sailors. He struck into the middle of the convoy of St. Eustatius, and dispersed it entirely. Twenty-two ships fell into his power, two others were taken by privateers. Some few, with the ships of war that had escorted them, made their way good into the ports of Ireland. The British merchants who had insured the captured ships, lost by this stroke upwards of seven hundred thousand pounds sterling. Admiral Darby, during his homeward passage, was very early informed of the disaster. He instantly made his dispositions for cutting off the retreat of La Motte-Piquet. But the French admiral, attentive to all the movements of the

enemy, and content with the brilliant advantages which he had just obtained, left the convoy of Jamaica to pursue its voyage in tranquillity, and returned without accident to Brest. So rich a capture created no little festivity in France.

Those who had projected this expedition, and those who had executed it, were loaded with just praises. The fleet of admiral Darby recovered the ports of England. In the meantime, the two fleets of Johnstone and Suffren had put to sea for the Cape of Good Hope. These two admirals had the most exact information respecting each other's departure, intended route, and ulterior destination. But the Englishman was obliged to touch at the bay of Praya, in St. Jago, the most considerable of the Cape de Verd Islands. He was occupied in recruiting his water and provision for the long voyage he was about to undertake, and a great part of his crews were on shore. M. de Suffren was soon apprized of it, and immediately shaped his course with press of sail for the bay of Praya, where he hoped to surprise the enemy. He kept so close along under a tongue of land which covers the port towards the east, that he was already on the point of entering it without being discovered. But the British ship *Isis*, which lay near the mouth of the bay, perceived beyond the eastern point the tops of several masts. Afterwards, by the mode of manœuvring, it was known that they were French, and the signal of enemy sails was given immediately. The commodore recalled his crews from the shore, and made all his dispositions for battle. Meanwhile the French squadron doubled the point, and appeared all at once at the en-

trance of the bay. The attack commenced forthwith. The English had one ship of seventy-four guns, four others of inferior force, three frigates, with several East India Company ships, armed for war. The French had two ships of seventy-four, and three of sixty-four guns. After having cannonaded the *Isis*, which presented herself the first, they forced the entrance of the harbour, passing into the midst of the British squadron, and firing double broadsides, M. de Tremignon, with his ship the *Hannibal*, which was a-head of the rest, advanced as far as possible, and with admirable intrepidity cast anchor in the midst of the British line, which assailed him from right and left. He was followed by M. de Suffren, in the *Hero*, and afterwards the Chevalier de Caradillac joined them with the *Artesien*. The two other ships could not approach near enough to support them, and having fallen to leeward, after having discharged a few broadsides, they stood out to sea. Two British ships, the *Isis* and the *Romney*, were unable to take any considerable part in the action: the first having suffered severely from the fire of the French, at the time of their entrance into the bay, the second finding herself advanced too far within it. The engagement was therefore reduced to that of three ships of the line on either side: the French fired both starboard and larboard guns, as they had placed themselves in the centre of the English. But at length, the British frigates, with the armed ships of the India Company, having rallied, came up to the support of the commodore. After the action had lasted an hour and a half, the *Artesien* having lost her captain, and being no longer able to sustain so

fierce a fire, cut her cables and drew off. M. de Suffren, finding himself deprived of his rear-guard, and exposed to be cannonaded at once on both sides as well as in front and rear, took a similar resolution to withdraw from the harbour. The retreat of the *Hero* and *Artesien* left the *Hannibal* alone to sustain the whole weight of the enemy's fire, and of course, she suffered excessively; she lost first her mizen-mast, then her main-mast, and at last her rudder. Nevertheless, by incredible exertions she made her way good to the mouth of the bay, where she was taken in tow by the ship *Sphynx*. Her masts being refitted as well as it was possible, she rejoined the rest of the squadron. The English would fain have followed the French, in order to re-commence the engagement; but the wind, the currents, the approach of night, and the disabled state of the *Isis*, prevented them from doing it. Such was the combat of Praya, which gave occasion to several observations upon the conduct of the two admirals. The British commander was censured for having anchored so imprudently in an open and defenceless bay, when he must have known that the enemy could not be far off. Vainly would he have alleged that he believed himself protected by the neutrality of the place, the island of St. Jago belonging to the crown of Portugal: for he affirmed himself, that when the French see an opportunity for seizing their advantage they are not wont to respect these neutralities: an accusation which, though it were founded, appears not the less extraordinary from the mouth of an Englishman. Commodore Johnstone, committed, besides, great errors, in landing so great a part of his crews,

in placing his weakest ships at the entrance of the bay, and in letting the Hannibal escape notwithstanding her crippled condition. M. de Suffren, it was said on the other hand, ought not to have attempted to combat at anchor. Every probability assured him a complete victory, if instead of losing time in coming to anchor, he had immediately resorted to boarding, or even if he had fought under sail an enemy that was in a good degree surprised and unprepared for action.

As soon as the British squadron was refitted, it put to sea in pursuit of the French; but finding them drawn up in order of battle, it avoided a second engagement: night, which soon came on, separated the two squadrons. Commodore Johnstone returned to the bay of Praya. M. de Suffren, continuing his voyage to the south, and towing the Hannibal, repaired to *False-Bay* at the Cape of Good Hope. He was rejoined there by his convoy, which, during his attack of Praya, he had left at sea, under the escort of the corvette *la Fortune*. Thus was marred the design which the English had meditated against the Cape. Constrained to relinquish all hope of conquest, they directed their force against the commerce of their enemies. Commodore Johnstone was advised by his light vessels, that several ships of the Dutch East India company, very richly laden, lay at anchor in the bay of Saldana, not far from the Cape itself. Upon making the coasts of Africa, acting himself as pilot to his squadron in the midst of shoals and reefs, crowding all sail by night, concealing himself by day, he manœuvred with such dexterity, that he arrived unexpectedly before the bay. He captur-

ed five of the most valuable ships; the others were burnt. After having obtained this advantage which preserved him at least from the reproach of having undertaken an expedition without utility, he detached a part of his force to India, under general Meadows, and returned himself with the Romney, his frigates and rich prizes, to England. M. de Suffren having thrown a strong garrison into the Cape of Good Hope, continued his voyage for the East Indies. Thus the war which raged already in Europe, America, and Africa, was about to redouble its violence upon the distant banks of the Ganges.

Meanwhile Gibraltar continued to hold out: to the furious attack given that place, had succeeded an almost total calm. The gun-boats, alone, profited of the obscurity of night, to keep the garrison in continual alarms. In order to restrain them, the governor caused his advanced batteries to be armed with guns and mortar-pieces, peculiarly calculated to throw their shot to a great distance. As they could now reach the camp of St. Roch, every time the gun-boats made their attacks, the Spanish lines were assailed by the most violent fire. Don Mendoza having perceived that general Elliot did thus by way of reprisal for the assaults of the gun-boats, ordered the commanders of the flotilla to desist from all further insult against the place, and to keep their station quietly in the port of Algesiras. He enjoined them, however, to exert the greatest vigilance to prevent the entrance of supplies into the place. The Spaniards were indefatigable in pushing forward their trenches. They had now brought them quite to the foot of the rock, so that the circumvallation extended

from right to left across the whole breadth of the isthmus by which the rock itself connects with the main land. They had excavated upon their left the mine of communication between their outer circumvallation and the parallels. General Elliot, full of security upon the summit of the rock he defended, unwilling to lavish his ammunition, without utility, had not disturbed the workmen. But when he saw that their works were completed, he resolved to destroy them by the most unexpected and vigorous sally. The twenty-seventh of November, towards midnight, he issued from the place at the head of three brigades of infantry, commanded by general Ross. These troops were followed by a great number of pioneers, miners and engineers. The sally was conducted with suitable order and silence. The English appeared all of a sudden before the advanced guards, and routed them in a few instants; they found themselves masters of the first parallel and proceeded to destroy it. The engineers, furnished with combustible materials, set fire to every thing that was capable of receiving it. The carriages of the cannon were rendered unserviceable, and the pieces, including the mortars, were spiked with admirable promptitude. The workmen tore up the platforms and traverses, and levelled the breast-works with the ground. All the magazines were successively consigned to the flames. A single half hour witnessed the destruction of those works which had been erected at so vast an expense of toil and treasure. The Spaniards, whether from the stupor of consternation, or supposing the enemy to be much stronger than he was in reality, were afraid to go out of their camp to

repulse him. They contented themselves with keeping up an incessant, though harmless, fire with balls and grape-shot. The English, after having accomplished their purpose, returned sound and safe into the fortress.

In the meantime a project was conceived in Europe, the execution of which could not fail to give a severe shock to the British power in the Mediterranean. The Spaniards remained very ill satisfied with France; they believed themselves authorized to reproach her with having hitherto consulted exclusively her own interests, to the prejudice of her allies. They complained, with peculiar bitterness, that she had in no shape promoted the expeditions of Jamaica and Gibraltar, as if she were loath to see the prosperity of the Spanish arms in the seas of America and upon the European continent. The revictualling of Gibraltar, on the part of the English, by dint of force, without a single movement of any sort being made by the French to prevent it, and the despair experienced by the Spaniards at having consumed themselves in vain efforts for the reduction of that place, had prodigiously increased their ill humour, and caused it to degenerate into an open discontent. The Spanish people murmured in bold language; the court was become the object of the most vehement animadversion. It was accused of having undertaken this expedition merely in subservience to the ambitious views of France, and not at all for the interests of the Spanish nation: the Spaniards called it *a court-war, a family-war*. Stimulated by the vivacity of these complaints, and reflecting moreover that the reduction, in whatever mode, of the British

power, was the augmentation of her own, France took the resolution to give into' some enterprise whose immediate fruit should be gathered by Spain. An expedition against Jamaica necessarily involving long delays, and a fresh attack upon Gibraltar promising no better than dubious results, it was determined to attempt an operation, the success of which appeared the more probable, as the English were far from expecting it: and that was, the conquest of the Island of Minorca. If France had motives for wishing it with eagerness, it must have been still more desirable for the Spaniards. Minorca is so favourably situated for cruising, that it was become the habitual resort of an immense number of privateers. Their audacity was not confined to infesting the seas, and disturbing the navigation and commerce of the Spaniards and French; they even intercepted neutral vessels employed in trafficking with these two nations: this island also served as a place of arms for the English. They deposited in it the munitions of war and provisions which they drew from the neighbouring coasts of Africa, whether for the use of their shipping or for the consumption of Gibraltar. The facility of the enterprise was another persuasive invitation to attempt it. In effect, however imposing was fort St. Philip from its position and works, the garrison which guarded it was far from corresponding to the strength and importance of the place: it consisted of only four regiments, two of them British and two Hanoverians, who all together did not exceed two thousand men. Notwithstanding the salubrity of the air, and the abundance of fresh provisions, these

troops were infected with the scurvy. They were commanded by the generals Murray and Draper.

In pursuance of the plan concerted between the courts of Versailles and Madrid, the Count de Guichen departed from Brest, towards the last of June, with eighteen sail of the line, and repaired to the port of Cadiz in order to join the Spanish fleet, which awaited him there. He had under him two general-officers of great reputation, M. de la Motte-Piquet, and M. de Beausset. The Spanish fleet, commanded by Don Lewis de Cordova, and by the two vice-admirals Don Gaston, and Don Vincent Droz, was composed of thirty ships of the line. A corps of ten thousand selected troops was embarked without any delay on board of this armament. It set sail the twenty-second of July, and after having been much thwarted by the winds, appeared in sight of Minorca the twentieth of August. The debarkation was effected in Musquito-bay. The whole island was occupied without obstacle, including the city of Mahon, its capital. The garrison, too feeble to defend all these posts, had evacuated them and thrown itself into fort St. Philip. A little after, four French regiments arrived from Toulon, under the conduct of the Baron de Falkenhayn. The two courts had confided the general command of all the forces employed upon this expedition to the Duke de Crillon, distinguished as well for his military knowledge as for his courage and thirst of glory. He had entered into the service of Spain, and as a Frenchman of illustrious birth, he was thought the most suitable personage to head the common enterprise.

But the siege of fort St. Philip presented difficulties of no ordinary magnitude. The works are cut in the solid rock, and mined in all their parts. The glacis, and covered way, likewise cut in the rock, are mined, counter-mined, palisaded, and furnished with batteries which defend their approaches. Around the fosse, which is twenty feet in depth, runs a covered and looped gallery, which affords a secure shelter to the garrison. Subterraneous communications are excavated between the outer-works and the body of the place. In the latter, which forms a sort of labyrinth, are sunk deep wells with draw-covers, and barbicans pierce the walls in all directions. The castle itself, also surrounded by a counter-mined covered way, is defended not only by counter-scarps and half-moons, but also by a wall sixty feet high, and a fosse thirty-six feet deep. Finally, the nucleus, which is a square tower flanked by four bastions, presents walls eighty feet high, and a ditch forty feet deep, and cut in the rock. This ditch has also its corridor and lodges. In the centre of all is an esplanade for marshalling the garrison. Around it are constructed the soldiers' barracks, and magazines for the munitions, both bomb-proof, and all wrought in the hard rock. To add to their safety, the English had totally rased the neighbouring city of St. Philip.

The allies approached the citadel with circum-spection; its lofty position overlooking all the adjacent country, it was not by scooping trenches, but by transporting and heaping earth that they formed their parallels. They raised a wall of about two hundred feet in length, five in height, and six in thickness. This laborious construction was finished, without the

besiegers having experienced any loss, as Murray did not attempt a single sally, whether in consequence of the weakness of the garrison, or from excess of confidence in the strength of the place. He contented himself with keeping up a fire of cannon and mortars, which produced no effect. The parallels being completed, the Duke de Crillon unmasked his batteries, and fulminated the fortress with one hundred and eleven twenty-four pounders, and thirty-three mortar-pieces opening thirteen inches of diameter.

During the siege of Fort St. Philip, the combined fleets of France and Spain, amounting to near fifty sail of the line, under the Count de Guichen, bent their course towards the coasts of England. The intention of the French admiral was to throw himself in the way of the British fleet, and to attack it. The great inferiority of the British rendered their defeat almost inevitable. The Count de Guichen also designed, by this movement, to prevent the enemy from passing succours from England to Minorca. He even hoped to cut off and capture the convoys that were then on their passage from the two Indies, bound for the ports of Great Britain. His views were likewise directed upon another convoy, which was assembled at the port of Cork, in Ireland, in order to watch its opportunity to make sail for the East and West Indies. Perhaps the French admiral was not without hopes that the sudden appearance of so formidable an armament upon the coasts of the British islands, might afford him an occasion to reach them with a stroke of the last importance. He hastened therefore to occupy the entrance of the channel in

all its breadth, by extending his line from the isle of Ushant to those of Scilly. Admiral Darby was then at sea with twenty-one ships of the line, and on the way to meet his convoy. He had the good fortune to fall in with a neutral vessel, which apprized him of the approach of the combined squadrons. But for this intelligence he must inevitably have fallen headlong into the midst of forces so superior to his own, that he could hardly have retained the smallest hope of safety. He instantly retired with all sails upon Torbay. He was there soon re-enforced by several ships of the first rank; which carried his fleet to thirty sail of the line. He disposed his order of battle in the form of a crescent within the bay itself, although it is open and little susceptible of defence. These dispositions, however, appeared to him sufficient to repulse the enemy, in case they should present themselves. But the peril was really extreme: they menaced at once the fleet and the maritime cities. None was more exposed than Cork, an unfortified place, and containing immense magazines of every denomination. All England was thrown into a state of the most anxious alarm. The allied armament at length appeared in sight of Torbay. The Count de Guichen immediately held a council of war to deliberate upon the course to be pursued in the present conjuncture. His own opinion was in favour of attacking the British fleet in the position it now occupied. He alleged that it might be considered as if caught in a net, and that a more auspicious occasion could never present itself for wresting from Great Britain the dominion of the sea. He represented what disgrace, what eternal regrets, would be incur-

red by allowing it to escape them. He maintained that the enemy, cramped in his movements within a bay, from which there was no outlet, must inevitably become the prey of the innumerable fire-ships with which the combined fleets might support their attack. Finally, he declared that the honour of the arms of the two allied sovereigns was staked upon the issue of this expedition. Don Vincent Droz not only concurred in the opinion of the admiral, but even offered to lead the attempt at the head of the vanguard. But M. de Beausset, the second in command, a seaman of high reputation, manifested a contrary opinion. He contended that the situation of the English squadron would enable it to fight them at their great disadvantage; they could not attack it in a body, but must form their line a-head, and fall down singly upon the enemy. This would expose every ship to the collected fire of the whole British fleet, lying fast at anchor, and drawn up in such a manner as to point all its guns at any object within its reach. He concluded with observing, that since an attack under such circumstances could by no means be justified, it became expedient to bend their attention exclusively upon an expedition, which, though less brilliant, was certainly of great moment—the capture of the West India convoy, probably at that instant, not very far from the shores of Europe. Don Lewis de Cordova and all the other Spanish officers, with the exception of Don Vincent Droz, adopted the sentiment of M. de Beausset. The project of attacking the British fleet was therefore rejected by a majority of votes. But if the allies would not, or knew not how to, profit of the occasion which fortune

had provided them, she seemed to take her revenge in baffling the designs to which they had given the preference. Contagious maladies began to rage on board their fleet, and especially on board the Spanish ships. The weather became shortly after so tempestuous, that the two admirals were obliged to think of their safety. The Count de Guichen returned to Brest, and Don Lewis de Cordova to Cadiz. The British convoys reached their ports without obstacles. Thus this second appearance of the allies upon the coasts of England proved as vain as the first. Its only fruit was that of having impeded the succours destined for Minorca. But if this campaign between France, Spain and England passed, in the seas of Europe, without any great effusion of blood, and almost entirely in demonstrations of little avail, it was at least remarkable for the reciprocal animosity manifested between the English and the Dutch. It brought to mind those fierce and sanguinary battles which had procured so much celebrity for these two nations in the seventeenth century. The Dutch carried on a very lucrative commerce with the produce of their colonies in the Baltic sea. Having become, as it were, the general factors of the nations of the north and of the south of Europe, their gains were immense. They were drawn, besides, towards the countries of the north, by the necessity of procuring from that part all the articles employed in the construction of shipping. This intercourse was become still more essential to them since their rupture with Great Britain, in order to be able to put their navy in a condition to defend the possessions and commerce of the republic, and to maintain

the honour of its flag. Their arsenals, however, were far from being supplied with all the stores and materials requisite to the present emergency. The English perceived of what importance it was for them to impede the supplies of their enemies. With this intent, so early as the month of June, they had put to sea four ships of the line and one of fifty guns, under the command of admiral Hyde Parker, a very expert seaman, and father of him who served at that time upon the coasts of America. His instructions were, to scour the northern seas, and do all the harm possible to the Dutch trade, and, at his return, to take under his protection a rich convoy which was assembled in the port of Elsinour.

Admiral Hyde Parker accomplished his mission with diligence; and already, being returned from the Baltic, he was conducting the convoy through the German Ocean, on his way home. Since his departure from Portsmouth, he had been joined by other ships, among which one of seventy-four guns, called the *Berwick*, one of forty-four named the *Dolphin*, and several smaller vessels; so that his squadron was composed of six sail of the line, exclusive of the rest. The Dutch, during this time, had not neglected their preparatives. They had succeeded in fitting out a squadron of seven ships of the line, with several frigates or corvettes. They had given the command of it to admiral Zoutman. He set sail, towards the middle of July, with a convoy of merchantmen, which he purposed to escort into the Baltic. The Dutch squadron was joined soon after by a stout American frigate called the *Charlestown*; and, on the fifth of August, it fell in with admiral Hyde Parker upon the *Dogger-*

Bank. The British squadron was to windward; at sight of the imposing force of the enemy, it sent its convoy homeward, under the guard of frigates, and bore down upon the Dutch. The latter, as soon as they discovered the English, likewise despatched their convoy towards their own ports, and prepared themselves for battle. They appeared to desire it with no less ardour than their adversaries. The English formed their line with seven ships, of which one of eighty guns, but old and in bad condition, two of seventy-four excellent, one of sixty-four, one of sixty, one of fifty, and lastly, a frigate of forty-four. The line of the Dutch was formed in like manner with seven ships, one of seventy-six, two of sixty-eight, three of fifty-four, and one frigate of forty four. The light vessels kept themselves aside of the line, ready to carry succour wherever it might be required. The English came down upon the Dutch with full sails, and before the wind; the latter awaited them, firm at their posts. A profound silence, the ordinary sign of pertinacious resolution, reigned on board of both squadrons. No other sound was heard but that of the creaking of pullies, the whistling of the wind, and the dashing of waves. The soldiers were formed upon the deck, the cannoniers stood by their pieces, awaiting the signal to commence the fire. It was not given until the squadrons were within half-musket-shot distance of each other. The two admiral ships, namely, the *Fortitude*, which carried Parker, and the *Admiral de Ruyter*, mounting Zoutman, attacked each other close along side with extreme impetuosity. The other ships imitated them, and soon the action became general. The Dutch had the su-

periority in weight of metal, and in the aid of frigates, particularly in that of the Charlestown. The rapidity of their evolutions enabled them to act against the whole line, assailing the ships of the enemy in flank. The English, on the other hand, were advantaged by the agility of manœuvres and a better supported fire. During near four hours, the action was kept up with an equal spirit, and a balanced success. The Dutch stood firm upon every point of their line, and the English redoubled efforts to carry a victory which they deemed it beneath them to relinquish. But the rage of men was constrained to yield to the force of elements. The ships, on the one part as well as on the other, were so terribly shattered, that they were no longer manageable. They floated upon the water, like wrecks, at the discretion of the wind, and their relative distance became at length so great, that it was impossible to renew the engagement. The English received incalculable damage in their masts and rigging.

After some hasty repairs, Hyde Parker endeavoured to re-form his line, in order to recommence the battle, provided Zoutman did not decline it. He attempted to follow him, on seeing him stand for the Texel. But all his efforts were vain. The Dutch ships however, were in no better condition. During the passage they had now before them, their masts fell one after another; the leaks were so considerable, that the work of pumps became fruitless. All the captains successively made their admiral signals of distress. The Holland, of sixty-eight guns, went to the bottom, within thirty leagues of the Texel: the crew had but just time to save themselves, leaving in their

precipitation the unhappy wounded to a certain death. The frigates were obliged to take the other ships in tow to enable them to gain the port.

The loss of the English in killed and wounded amounted to four hundred and fifty, among whom were several distinguished officers. In the number of the slain was captain Macartney, who commanded the Princess Amelia, of eighty guns. The valour he signalized in the combat honoured his last moments; but it was still less astonishing than the intrepidity of his young son. This child, yet but seven years old, remained constantly at the side of his father in the very height of the action; the unfortunate but heroic witness of the stroke which snatched him from his fond affection. Lord Sandwich, first lord of the admiralty, knowing that captain Macartney had left a numerous family, and little fortune, adopted this courageous infant. In England, unanimous praises were lavished upon all those who had combated at the Dogger-Bank. King George himself, as soon as he knew that admiral Hyde Parker was arrived at the Nore, went to pay him a visit on board of his ship, and expressed to him as well as to all his officers, the high sense he entertained of their valiant conduct in this bloody rencounter. But the old seaman, irritated against the board of admiralty, who, in giving him so inadequate a force, had frustrated him of an occasion for signalizing himself by a great victory, told the king with the blunt freedom of his profession, that he wished him younger officers and better ships; that for his own part, he was become too old to serve any longer. In defiance of the solicitations of the sovereign, of the courtiers and of the ministers,

he persisted in his resolution, and immediately tendered his resignation.

The government and public were no less forward, in Holland, to acknowledge the services of the officers and men who, in the action of the fifth of August, had sustained the ancient renown of the flag of the United Provinces. The stadholder, in the name of the States General, addressed public thanks to rear admiral Zoutman, apprizing him at the same time of his promotion to the rank of vice-admiral. The captains Dedel, Van Braam, and Kindsburghen, were created rear admirals. The same honour, and particular regrets were conferred upon the Count de Bentinck, who was put ashore mortally wounded. He had displayed equal skill and gallantry in the command of the *Batavia*. The loss of the Dutch in killed and wounded was greater than that of the English. Such was the issue of the naval battle of Doggers-Bank, the best conducted, and the best fought of all this war. It would be impossible to decide who came off with the advantage; but it is certain that the Dutch, having been constrained to regain their ports for the purpose of refitting, found themselves under the necessity of abandoning their design, which had been to repair to the Baltic. This disappointment, however, did not prevent the nation from cherishing new hopes: the glorious recollection of past times revived in every breast.

As soon as the Count de Guichen had re-entered the port of Brest, the French government began to frame new designs. It was not ignorant that the Count de Grasse, who commanded the West India fleet, must soon stand in need of supplies and re-en-

forcements, both of ships and troops. Naval stores are extremely scarce in that quarter, and the nature of the climate and of the waters is singularly prejudicial to ships, which get out of condition there with an incredible rapidity. The forces which had been sent thither in this and the preceding campaign, might appear sufficient to execute the plans which had been formed in favour of the United States, and against the more feeble of the British islands. But in order to attempt the expedition of Jamaica, to which Spain was continually stimulating her ally, it was requisite to have recourse to more formidable armaments, as well by land as by sea. The court of Versailles was also aware that the state of affairs in the East Indies required that fresh forces should be sent thither, and moreover that the want of arms and munitions of war began to be felt with urgency. Orders were therefore given for the immediate equipment, at Brest, of a convoy laden with all the necessary articles. Re-forcements of troops were prepared for embarkation, and the armament was pushed with extraordinary activity. As soon as it was in readiness, the Count de Guichen put to sea at the head of the great fleet, and the Marquis de Vaudreuil with a particular squadron. The convoys destined for the two Indies sailed under their protection. After having escorted them till they were out of danger from the fleets upon the watch in the ports of England, the Count de Guichen was to stand to the south, in order to join the Spanish squadron in the port of Cadiz. The object of their combined action was to intercept the succours which the English might attempt to send to Minorca. As to the Mar-

quis de Vaudreuil, his destination was to conduct the re-enforcements of troops to the West Indies, and to unite with the Count de Grasse, who was making dispositions in concert with the Spaniards for the attack of Jamaica.

For a long time there had not issued from the ports of France convoys so numerous and so richly laden with stores of every denomination. The news of these immense preparations soon found its way to England: but, strange as it must seem, the ministers were not informed of the force of the formidable squadrons that were to escort the transports. They consequently directed admiral Kempenfeldt to put to sea with twelve ships of the line, one of fifty guns, and four frigates, in order to cut off the French convoys. But the count de Guichen had nineteen sail of the line; and Kempenfeldt, instead of taking, ran great risk of being taken.

In defiance of all probabilities, chance did that which human prudence could not have brought to pass. The twelfth of December, the weather being stormy, and the sea rough, the British admiral fell in with a French convoy. He had the good fortune to be to windward of the fleet of escort, which for that reason could not act. The Englishman profited with great dexterity of so favourable an occasion, he captured twenty vessels, sunk several, and dispersed the rest. He would have taken more of them if the weather had been less thick, the sea more tranquil, and the number of his frigates greater. Night came on; the two admirals had rallied their ships. Kempenfeldt sailed in company during the whole night, with intent to engage the enemy at break of day. He

knew not, however, what was his force. When the morning came, he discovered it to leeward, and finding it so superior to his own, he changed his plan. Not willing to lose by imprudence what he had acquired by ability, or a benign glance of fortune, he made the best of his way towards the ports of England, where he arrived in safety with all his prizes. The number of his prisoners amounted to eleven hundred regular troops, and six or seven hundred seamen. The transports were laden with a considerable quantity of artillery, arms and military stores. The provisions, such as wine, oil, brandy, flour, biscuit, salt meats, &c. were not in less abundance. But this loss was still but the commencement of the disasters of the French fleet. It was assailed, the following day, by a furious tempest accompanied with continual thunder and lightning, and a most impetuous wind from the south-west. The greater part of the ships were obliged to recover the port of Brest, in the most deplorable condition. Only two ships of the line, the *Triumphant* and the *Brave*, with five or six transports, were able to continue their voyage. This event had the most afflicting consequences for France: she had not only to regret armaments and munitions of immense value, but also the precious time consumed in the reparation of the ships of war. Six whole weeks elapsed before it was possible for them to make sail anew for the West Indies. This delay, as we shall see, was extremely prejudicial to the French arms in that part.

Whilst the war was thus prosecuted in Europe with varied success, the Count de Grasse sailed prosperously towards Martinico. To accelerate his

voyage, he had caused his ships of war to tow the transports. Such was his diligence that he appeared in sight of that island with an hundred and fifty sail, thirty days only after his departure from Brest. Admiral Rodney was promptly informed of the approach of the French admiral. He saw very clearly the importance of preventing the junction of this new fleet with the squadrons already existing in the ports of Martinico and of St. Domingo. The Count de Grasse brought with him twenty ships of the line, with one of fifty guns, and seven or eight others awaited him in the ports above mentioned. Rodney had only twenty-one ships of the line. It is true, that Hyde Parker had four others at Jamaica. But besides their being thought necessary to the defence of the island, they were to leeward of the principal fleet, and consequently it would have been next to impracticable for them to join it. Under these considerations Rodney sent the two admirals Hood and Drake with seventeen ships to cruise before the entrance of Fort-Royal harbour, in Martinico, whither he knew the Count de Grasse had bent the course of his voyage.

It is quite difficult to explain the motives which induced the British admiral to establish this cruise under Fort-Royal: his fleet was there liable to fall to leeward, and thus to be compelled to leave between itself and the land a free passage for the French fleet into the port. A station more to windward, off the point of Salines, seemed proper to obviate these inconveniences. It was written, that Hood, who was a man of great skill in naval affairs, had made remonstrances on the subject of these dispositions; but that Rodney, whose character was headstrong, had dis-

missed him with an order to obey punctually. The event soon demonstrated that the station of the point of Salines would have been more suitable than that of Fort-Royal. The twenty-eighth of April, at evening, the Count de Grasse appeared off that point, with the most magnificent display of force. Admiral Hood was immediately apprized by his frigates of the appearance of the French. He instantly formed his line of battle and bore down upon the enemy. His intention was to press to windward in order afterwards to approach so near the coasts of Martinico as to prevent the French from passing between his ships and the land. Night came on during this manœuvre. At day break the English discovered the fleet of the Count de Grasse, standing along the coast in the best order. His convoy of transports defiled behind the line of battle which he presented to the enemy. All his efforts were exerted to double the Diamond-Rock, which once past, nothing could prevent his entrance into the port. The English being to leeward, were not able to prevent the four ships of the line, with that of fifty guns, in Fort-Royal harbour, from coming out to join the great fleet. This junction carried the forces of the Count de Grasse to twenty-six sail of the line: and gave him a decided superiority over Hood, although that admiral was joined, at the same time, by a ship of seventy-four guns, which came from St. Lucia. The English, however, persuading themselves that a part of the French ships were merely armed in flute, took confidence and again bore down upon their adversaries. The French admiral, mindful to save his convoy, and reposing on his force, neither sought nor shunned an engagement. As soon as

the English were within long shot of the French, the fire commenced on both sides. It was supported thus, at a great distance, for about three hours, with heavy damage to the first, and very little to the second. During the action the convoy entered the bay of Fort-Royal. Disengaged from this care, the French advanced in order to engage the enemy in close fight. The English, on the contrary, began to retire, but in good order. Their ships being coppered, had such a superiority in point of sailing, that it became impossible for the Count de Grasse to come up with them. Besides, the French rear-guard not having crowded all sail, there had resulted such an opening between it and the remainder of the fleet, that admiral Hood was near profiting of it to cut the line. The Count de Grasse perceived it in time, and filled up so dangerous a void. He continued to pursue the English for two days, and afterwards came to anchor in Fort-Royal. Admiral Hood had gained Antigua: his ships, the Centaur, the Russell, the Torbay and the Intrepid, were excessively damaged in this engagement. Admiral Rodney was still at St. Eustatius, much occupied with the sale of the immense booty he had made, when he learned that the Count de Grasse, after having obtained an advantage over sir Samuel Hood, was safely moored at Fort-Royal. He perceived that it was time to think of something distinct from his mercantile interests, and that the exertion of all his force was required of him if he wished to maintain himself in the West Indies. He accordingly directed the promptest dispositions, and hastened with three ships and a body of troops to rejoin admiral Hood at Antigua.

His plan was, to put to sea again immediately, in order to oppose the designs of the enemy, who, not content with his first successes, appeared to meditate others, and more considerable. The French, in effect, lost no time; they were disposed to profit of the advantages which they had now secured themselves.

After having attempted, though without effect, to surprise St. Lucia, they proceeded with all expedition to attack the Island of Tobago. M. de Blanchelande debarked the first, at the head of sixteen hundred men. He seized Scarborough and the fort which defended it, General Ferguson, the governor, had little over four hundred regular troops; but they were supported by a greater number of militia, well trained, and much attached to England. These sentiments were common to all the inhabitants of Tobago. The governor, finding himself too weak to defend the coasts, withdrew into the interior of the island, to a post called Concordia. From this lofty situation, the sea is discovered on the right and on the left; an important advantage for being promptly apprized of the approach of succours. The Marquis de Bouille disembarked soon after, with a re-enforcement of three thousand men. He made his junction with M. de Blanchelande under the walls of Concordia, which was then closely invested. At the same time, the Count de Grasse appeared in sight of the island with twenty-four ships of the line, to prevent its being relieved. Governor Ferguson, as soon as he found himself attacked, had despatched a swift sailing vessel to Rodney with the intelligence, and a request for prompt assistance. Rodney had already

passed from Antigua to Barbadoes. Whether he believed the assailants more feeble, and the besieged more strong, than they really were, or that he was not apprized of the sailing of the French admiral with all his fleet for Tobago, instead of repairing with all his own to the relief of that island, he contented himself with sending admiral Drake thither with six sail of the line, some frigates, and a body of about six hundred troops. Drake approached Tobago; but seeing the enemy in such force, he relinquished the enterprise and hastened to regain Barbadoes. The Count de Grasse pursued him, but could not prevent his reaching that island sound and safe, and advising admiral Rodney of the critical state of affairs. Meanwhile the governor of Tobago was hard pressed. The French having taken possession of different heights which overlooked Concordia, he determined to retreat to a post on the Main-Ridge, where a few huts had been built, and some provisions and ammunition previously lodged for the purpose. The garrison was already arrived at Caledonia, and thus occupied the road or path which leads to the post which they had in view. This road is so narrow and difficult that a few men might defend it against a whole army. The Marquis de Bouille had reflected that time and the nature of his enterprise did not admit of the lingering process of a regular siege. It was evident, however, that if the British governor should intrench himself in those inaccessible positions, the reduction of the island would require a series of operations as protracted as perilous. It would moreover prove an obstacle to the execution of ulterior designs. Finally, it was to be presumed that Rodney

could not long delay to appear. Under these considerations, the Marquis de Bouille thought proper to resort to more expeditious means than are usually employed in war. Departing from the accustomed lenity of his character, perhaps through irritation at the obstinacy of the islanders, and perhaps, also, from resentment for the late transactions at St. Eustatius, he sent to apprise the governor that he should begin with burning two habitations and two sugar plantations. His menaces were immediately accomplished. They were followed by that of consigning twice as many to the same fate, at the commencement of every four hours, until the island was laid waste or that a surrender should be made.

The inhabitants, convinced that perseverance was total ruin, were in no disposition to wait the slow approach of succours which the precipitate retreat of Drake rendered hourly more uncertain. They began to murmur; and very soon, to negotiate for conditions with the French general. Governor Ferguson at length perceived the impossibility of controlling events. He observed a manifest discouragement in his regular troops themselves, and felt that the moment of capitulation was come. He obtained honourable terms, and similar to those which the Marquis de Bouille, naturally generous towards his vanquished enemies, had granted to the inhabitants of Dominica. These transactions took place in the early part of June. Admiral Rodney appeared shortly after in view of the island with all his armament. But, on intelligence of its surrender, and at sight of the imposing force of the Count de Grasse, he avoid-

ed an engagement, and returned to Barbadoes. In this manner, the French availing themselves with equal sagacity and promptitude of their naval superiority in the West Indies, both galled their enemies at sea, and deprived them of a rich and well fortified island.

These operations, however, were still but a part of the plan formed by the French government, and committed to the care of the Count de Grasse. The instructions of that admiral enjoined him, after having attempted all those enterprises which the season should admit of in the West Indies, to repair with all his force to the coasts of America, and there to co-operate with the French troops and those of Congress, to the entire extirpation of the British power in those regions. Washington and Rochambeau awaited his arrival, in order to commence the work: Already, by means of swift-sailing vessels, they had concerted the plan of their combined action, after their junction should have taken place. It was hoped by the republicans that besides his fleet, the French admiral would furnish five or six thousand land troops, munitions of war and provisions, and especially money, of which the Americans, and the French themselves, experienced the greatest penury. Finally, they pressed him to show himself promptly, as well to support their efforts as to prevent the arrival of British re-enforcements. The Count de Grasse was personally stimulated by these important considerations. His imagination offered him a vivid perspective of the glory to be acquired by achieving what the Count d'Estaing had attempted in vain, namely, the finishing of the American war by a decisive stroke.

He accordingly made sail from Martinico for Cape Francois, in the island of St. Domingo. He was constrained to tarry there some time, to take on board the troops and military stores destined for the continent. But he exerted himself in vain to procure the needed funds. He was joined, in that anchorage, by five ships of the line. All his preparations being completed, he sailed, the fifth of August, and commenced with escorting his numerous convoy till out of danger. Afterwards, having touched at the Havannah for money, which the Spaniards readily furnished him, he directed his course with a favourable wind for the Chesapeake. His fleet, composed of twenty-eight sail of the line and several frigates, carried three thousand regular troops, with every kind of succour; and might be considered as the great hinge upon which the fortune of the war, at least in America, was to turn.

On the other hand, admiral Rodney, who followed with an attentive eye the movements of the Count de Grasse, saw the importance of taking a decisive resolution. He instantly detached admiral Hood to the coast of America with fourteen sail of the line to join admiral Graves, and counteract the designs of the enemy. Being himself in feeble health, he set sail for England with some ships, much out of condition, and a large convoy. Rodney was censured with extreme asperity for the counsels taken by him about that time; and some even made him responsible for the sinister events which ensued shortly after. His adversaries contended, that if he had sailed with all his force, and without delay, in quest of the French admiral, had touched at Jamaica, in order to make

his junction with the squadron of Hyde Parker, and then had proceeded to the coasts of North America, the Count de Grasse would at least have found himself compelled to relinquish his projects, if not exposed to a defeat. "Instead of adopting this measure" said they, "the only one that suited the occasion, Rodney, by returning to England with a part of the heaviest ships of his fleet, has reduced it to an alarming state of weakness, and abandoned the field of battle to the enemy.

"It is a capital error thus to have divided the armament into several little squadrons, as leaving some ships at the leeward Islands, where the French have not left one, and detaching three others to Jamaica, which nobody thought of attacking, and, finally, sending Sir Samuel Hood with an unequal and insufficient force to America. Is it possible to be too much astonished that our admiral has chosen to fritter away his force into small parts, at the very moment when the French assembled all theirs upon a single point? The world may see what are the effects of this fatal resolution, it has already cost but too many of England's tears." Rodney nevertheless found defenders. "The admiral's return to Europe," they answered, "was rather constrained by the state of his health, than decided by his choice. The ships he has brought with him are in such a worn-out state, that they could not have been repaired in the West Indies. The French admiral having under his protection a rich and numerous convoy, it was fairly to be presumed that he would not have left it to pursue its homeward voyage without a respectable escort. It was even to be supposed that he would have sent the greater part of his

fleet along with the merchantmen to France, and that he would only have retained those ships which were in condition to undergo the American service. But independent of that circumstance, the force sent to America under Sir Samuel Hood, when combined with that of admiral Graves, would have been perfectly adequate to sustain the brunt of the whole French fleet. But what has Graves done? Instead of keeping his squadron entire and together in the port of New York, he preferred to fatigue himself in a fruitless cruise before Boston, until the bad weather which he met had disabled the greater part of his ships. Hence it followed of necessity that even after the arrival of admiral Hood at New York our force was still inferior to that of the French. It indeed now appears that no timely notice had been received by admiral Graves either of the count de Grasse's motions, or of Hood's destination to the coasts of America. But if the expresses which Sir George Rodney had despatched for that purpose were taken by the enemy, or otherwise detained, it is no fault on his side: it is a misfortune to be regretted; but which could neither have been absolutely foreseen, nor prevented if it could. Finally, the commander-in-chief cannot be reproached for having detached Sir Samuel Hood to America, instead of repairing thither himself; for what naval officer is more worthy of all our confidence than Hood?"

Without undertaking to decide between these opposite opinions, we shall content ourselves with remarking, that though, in military facts, it is not allowable to judge by the event, it is nevertheless just to consider the causes which have produced it; and

nothing is more certain than that the conduct of admiral Rodney, in the present conjuncture, had an influence upon the chances of the continental struggle, upon the fortune of America herself, and even upon the issue of all this war.

Having sketched the events which signalized the present year, as well in Europe as in the West Indies, we are now to record those which occupied the scene upon the continent of America. It was the theatre of the principal efforts of the two parties that contended, arms in hand, for its possession. Everywhere else the contest had in view the success of the campaign, and to obtain a better peace; there, its object was existence itself. But before undertaking the portraiture of military operations, it is necessary to apply the attention to objects which, though less brilliant and glorious, are however the first source, and the firmest foundation of warlike exploits. Such, doubtless, is the internal administration of the state. The situation of the United States at the commencement of the year 1781, presented, in general, only objects of affliction and disquietude. The efforts which the Americans had made the preceding year, and the events which had passed in the Carolinas, had revived public spirit, and produced happy effects. But these effects being founded only upon the fugitive ardour of particular men, and not upon a settled and permanent order of things, it followed that discouragement and distress re-appeared with more alarming symptoms than ever. The public treasury was empty, or only filled with bills of credit, no longer of any worth. The army supplies totally failed, or were only procured by compulsion,

accompanied with certificates of receipt, which had lost all sort of credit. The inhabitants became disgusted, and concealed their commodities. If by dint of effort some scanty recruit of provision was at length collected, it could not be transported to the place of its destination, for want of money to pay the wago-ners. In some districts, where it was attempted to impress them, there arose violent murmurs,—which even degenerated into ways of fact. No where had it been possible to form magazines: scarcely did there exist here and there some repositories, which often contained neither food nor clothing of any denomination: even the arsenals were without arms. The soldiers, covered with tatters, or half-naked, destitute of all comforts, implored in vain the compassion of the country they defended. The veterans deserted; the recruits refused to join the army. The Congress had decreed that by the first of January, there should be thirty-seven thousand men under arms: it would have been difficult to have mustered the eighth part of that number in the month of May. In a word, it seemed as if America, at the very crisis of her fate, was about to prove wanting to herself, and that after having gained the better part of her career, she was more than half inclined to retrace her steps. Far from the Americans being thought capable of waging an offensive war, it was scarcely believed that they could defend their fire-sides. Already, it began to be feared that instead of assisting the French to drive out the soldiers of king George, they would prove unable to prevent the latter from expelling the troops of Lewis XVI. So disastrous was the change of fortune occasioned by the exhaus-

tion of the finances, and, still more, by the want of a system of administration proper to re-establish them. This state of things was not overlooked by the American government, and it exerted every utmost effort to apply a remedy. But its power was far from corresponding to its intentions. The only means that Congress had for administering to the wants of the state, consisted in a new emission of bills of credit, or an increase of taxes. But the paper money had lost all sort of value. The Congress itself had been constrained to request the different states to repeal the laws by which they had made the bills of credit a tender in all payments. It had even ordained that in all future contracts for the supplies of the army, the prices should be stipulated in specie. This was the same as declaring formally that the state itself would no longer acknowledge its own bills for current money, and that this paper not only no longer had, but no longer could have, the least value. As to taxes, the Congress had not the right to impose them; it belonged exclusively to the provincial assemblies. But these exercised it with more backwardness than could comport with the public interests. This coldness proceeded from several causes. The rulers of the particular states were, for the most part, men who owed their places to popular favour. They apprehended losing it, if they subjected to contributions of any importance, the inhabitants of a country where from the happy, shall I call it, or baleful facility of issuing paper-money to answer the public exigencies, they were accustomed to pay no taxes, or next to none. Moreover, although the bills of Congress were entirely discredited, the particular states still had

theirs, which though much depreciated were still current at a certain rate; and the provincial legislatures apprehended, and not without reason, that taxes *payable in specie*, would cause them to fall still lower. Nor should it be passed over in silence, that no general regulation having established the quota of contribution to be paid by each province according to its particular faculties, all through mutual jealousy were reluctant to vote taxes for fear of loading themselves more than their neighbours. Such was the spirit of distrust and selfishness which made its appearance everywhere, whenever it was necessary to require of the citizens the smallest pecuniary sacrifice. While they were looking at one another with a jealous eye, and none would give the example, the finances of the state were entirely exhausted, and the republic itself was menaced with a total dissolution. It could not be hoped, on the other hand, that the particular states would consent to invest the Congress with authority to impose taxes, as well because men with authority in hand are little disposed to part with it, as because the opinions then entertained by the Americans on the subject of liberty, led them to view with disquietude any increase of the power of Congress. Finally, it should be observed, that at this epoch, the Americans cherished an extreme confidence in the pecuniary succours of friendly powers, and especially of France. They were persuaded that no more was necessary than that a minister of Congress should present his requisition to any European court, in order to obtain immediately whatever sums of money it might please him to specify. As if foreigners were bound to have more at heart than the

Americans themselves, the interests and prosperity of America. In effect, the resource of paper money was no more, and that of taxes was yet to be created. Nor could it be dissembled, that even upon the hypothesis of a system of taxation in full operation, and as productive as possible, the produce would still fall infinitely short of supplying the gulf of war, and, by consequence, that the revenue would continue enormously below the expense. Indeed, so ruinous were the charges of this war, that they amounted to no less than twenty millions of dollars a year; and not more than eight could have been counted upon, from the heaviest taxes which, under these circumstances, the United States would have been able to bear. A better administration of the public treasure might doubtless have diminished the exorbitant expenses of the military department; but it is nevertheless clear that they would always have greatly exceeded the revenue. Actuated by these different reflections, the Congress had hastened to instruct Doctor Franklin to use the most pressing instances with the Count de Vergennes, who, at that time, had the principal direction of affairs relating to America, in order to obtain from France a loan of some millions of livres, towards defraying the expense of the war. Franklin was also directed to solicit permission of the court of Versailles to open another loan for account of the United States, with the French capitalists that were inclined to favour the cause of America. The same instructions were sent, with a view of effecting similar loans, to John Adams, and John Jay, the first minister plenipotentiary of the United States, near the republic of Holland; the second at the court of Madrid. The

latter was to insinuate to Spain, so great was the discouragement which prevailed at that time in America, that the United States would renounce the navigation of the Mississippi, and even the possession of a port upon that river; the other was to persuade the Dutch that important commercial advantages would be granted them. Franklin, especially, was to represent to France, that without money the affairs of America were desperate. It was recommended to these different envoys to set forth all the resources which America offered as guarantee of her fidelity in fulfilling her engagements. The Congress attached so much importance to the success of these negotiations, that not content with having sent these new instructions to their ministers, they also despatched colonel Laurens to France, with orders to support by the most urgent solicitations the instances of Franklin at the court of Versailles.

The court of Madrid was inflexible, because Jay would not agree to the renunciation above mentioned. Holland showed herself no better disposed, because she doubted the responsibility of the new state. France alone, who judiciously considered that aiding the victory of the United States, and preserving their existence, was of more worth to her than the money they demanded, granted six millions of livres, not as a loan, but as a gift. She seized this occasion to express her dissatisfaction at the coldness with which the Americans themselves contemplated the distress of their country. She exhorted them to reflect, that when it is desired to accomplish honourable enterprises, it is requisite not to be avaricious in the means of success. The court of Versailles

did not omit to make the most of its munificence, by setting forth all the weight of its own burdens. But the sum it gave being too far short of the wants, it consented to become security in Holland, for a loan of ten millions of livres, to be negotiated there by the United States. Notwithstanding this guarantee, the loan progressing but slowly, the king of France consented to make an advance of the sum total, which he drew from his own treasury. He would not however, authorize the loan proposed to be opened with his subjects. The Americans had thus succeeded in procuring from the court of France a subsidy of sixteen millions of livres. A part of this sum, however, was already absorbed by the payment of preceding draughts of the Congress upon Franklin, for particular exigencies of the state. The remainder was embarked for America in specie, or employed by colonel Laurens in purchases of clothing, arms, and munitions of war. The intention of the giver of the six millions was, that this sum, being specially destined for the use of the American army, should be kept in reserve, at the disposal of general Washington, or placed in his hands, to the end that it might not fall into those of other authorities, who might perhaps apply it to other branches of the public service. This condition was far from being agreeable to the Congress: on the contrary, it displeased that body particularly, under the impression that its soldiers would thus become as it were stipendiaries of France; and it feared lest they might abate much of their dependence on itself. It therefore decreed, that the articles bought with the money given by France, should be consigned, on their arrival in America, to

the department of war; but that all the ready money should be placed in the hands of the treasurer, to remain under his charge, and to be expended agreeably to the orders of Congress, and for the service of the state. This succour on the part of France, was of great utility to the United States; it increased exceedingly their obligations towards Lewis XVI. But before the negotiations which led to it were terminated, and the money or supplies were arrived in America, a long time had elapsed; and the evil was grown to such a head, that the remedy had well nigh come too late. The subsidy in itself was by no means adequate to the necessity. But even had it been sufficient to answer the present exigencies, it could not be considered as having accomplished its object, so long as the same disorder continued to reign in the public expenses. The fiscal suffered still less from the poverty of revenues than from the prodigalities it had to supply. It had not escaped the Congress that this primordial defect in the administration of the finances was the source of those perpetual embarrassments which had beset them since the origin of the revolution. Firmly resolved to introduce into that department a rigorous system of order and economy, they appointed for treasurer Robert Morris, one of the deputies of the state of Pennsylvania; a man of high reputation and possessed of extensive knowledge and experience in commercial and financial affairs. His mind was active, his manners pure, his fortune ample, and his zeal for independence extremely ardent. He was authorized to oversee and direct the receipt and disbursement of the public money, to investigate the state of the public debt, and to digest

and report a new plan of administration. If the charge imposed on Morris was ponderous, the talent and firmness with which he sustained it were not less astonishing. He was not slow in substituting regularity for disorder, and good faith in the room of fraud.

The first, the most essential of the qualities of an administrator being exactness in the fulfilment of his obligations, the new treasurer adhered with rigour to an invariable punctuality. He soon gathered the fruits of it: instead of a general distrust, there sprung up, by little and little, an universal confidence. *One of the first operations of the treasurer, was to lay before Congress an outline of a national bank, for all the United States of America.* He assigned to this bank a capital of four hundred thousand dollars, divided in shares of four hundred dollars each, in money of gold or silver, to be procured by means of subscriptions: by the same means this capital might be increased, when expedient, and according to certain restrictions. Twelve directors were to manage the bank; it was recognised by Congress under the name of the president, directors and company of the bank of North America. All its operations were to be subject to the inspection of the treasurer. Such were the bases and principal features of this establishment. The utility to be derived from it was, that the bills of the bank, payable on demand, should be declared legal money for the payment of all excises and taxes in each of the United States, and receivable into the chests of the public treasury as gold or silver. The Congress adopted this plan by a special decree. Subscribers presented themselves in throng, and all the

shares were soon taken. The States realized an extraordinary benefit from this institution. The treasurer, by means of exchequer notes, was enabled to anticipate the produce of imposts and taxes. Not content with having brought, by means of the bank, the capitals and credit of the stockholders to the support of public credit, he was disposed to operate the same effect in his own name, and with his private credit. He accordingly threw into circulation no small sum of obligations signed by himself, and payable at different terms out of foreign subsidies, or even out of the revenues of the United States. And although with time these obligations had amounted to upwards of five hundred and eighty-one thousand dollars, they still never depreciated, excepting, perhaps, a little towards the end of the war; so great was the confidence of the public in the good faith and punctuality of the treasurer. Thus at that very epoch in which the credit of the state was almost entirely annihilated, and its bills nearly without value, that of a single individual was stable and universal. It is impossible to overrate the advantages which resulted to the government from having, in these obligations of the treasurer, the means of anticipating the produce of taxes, at a time when such anticipation was not only necessary but indispensable. By this aid it was enabled to provide for the wants of the army, no longer by way of requisitions, but by regular contracts. This new mode had the most happy effects: it produced economy in purchases, exactness in supplies, and a cordial satisfaction among the people, who had always manifested an extreme disgust at the compulsory requisitions. It cannot be advanced, assuredly, that this anticipat-

ed employment of the produce of taxes is an example to be imitated; nor even can it be denied, on the contrary, that it has dangers. But Robert Morris had the faculty of using this resource with so much discretion, and of introducing so admirable an order and economy into all parts of the public expense, that no manner of inconvenience resulted from it.

But a foundation was necessary to all these new dispositions of the treasurer; and this foundation consisted in taxes. The Congress therefore decreed that the states should be required to furnish the treasury, by way of assessments, with the sum of eight millions of dollars: and at the same time determined what should be, in this sum, the contingent of each state. Such was the urgency of the affairs of the republic, and the confidence that all had placed in the treasurer, that the states conformed willingly to this new decree of Congress: and thus an efficacious remedy was at length applied to the penury of the treasury. The solicitude of Robert Morris for the prosperity of the state did not end here.

The province of Pennsylvania, as a country abounding in wheat, was that from which was drawn the greater part of the supplies of flour for the use of the army. The want of money had occasioned, towards the beginning of the year, an extreme slowness in the delivery of these supplies. But Morris was no sooner in place, than he employed his private credit in the purchase of flour for the soldiers. He afterwards undertook, with the approbation of government, to furnish the requisitions for similar supplies that might be made upon Pennsylvania during the present year, on condition, however, of being autho-

rized to reimburse himself from the produce of the apportioned contribution of that province. It amounted to upwards of eleven hundred and twenty thousand dollars. In this manner, by the cares of the treasurer, public credit was resuscitated, and the exhausted treasury was sufficiently replenished to meet expenses. To him it was principally owing that the armies of America did not disband; and that the Congress, instead of yielding to an inevitable necessity, recovered the means not only of sustaining the efforts of the enemy, but even of resuming the offensive with vigour and success. Certainly, the Americans owed, and still owe, as much acknowledgment to the financial operations of Robert Morris, as to the negotiations of Benjamin Franklin, or even to the arms of George Washington.

Before the salutary effect of this new system had braided the tottering state, a sinister event had given room to fear that the present year would prove the last of the republic. The terror it occasioned was the first cause, or at least the most powerful incitement, of the introduction of a better method. At this time, as we have already remarked, the soldiers experienced the most intolerable destitution, not only of all the parts of military equipment, but even of articles the most necessary to life. Their discontent was extreme. A particular motive still aggravated the ill-humour of the regular troops of Pennsylvania. They had enlisted for three years, or during all the war. The ambiguity of the terms of their engagement led them to think it had expired with the year 1780. They claimed therefore the right to return to their homes, while the government contended that they were bound to serve

till the end of the war. These two causes combined, so heated all heads, that a violent tumult broke out in the night of the first of January. The mutineers declared that they would march under arms to the very place where Congress was in session, in order to obtain the redress of their grievances. Their number amounted to near fifteen hundred men. The officers endeavoured to quell the insurrection, but it was in vain; and in the riot that ensued, several of the seditious and one officer were killed. General Wayne presented himself, a man by his valour of great authority with the soldiers: He advanced against the mutineers pistol in hand: but he was told to take care what he was about to do, or that even he would be cut to pieces. Already their bayonets were directed against his breast. Immediately after, collecting the artillery, baggage and wagons, which belonged to their division, they put themselves on the march, in the best order, upon Middlebrook. At night they intrenched themselves with the same caution as if they had been in an enemy's country. They had elected for their chief a certain Williams, a British deserter, and they had given him a sort of council of war, composed of all the serjeants of the companies. From Middlebrook they marched upon Princeton, and encamped there. They would not suffer officers among them. The Marquis de la Fayette, general St. Clair, and colonel Laurens, who had hastened to Princeton to endeavour to allay the ferment, were constrained to leave the town.

The news of the insurrection reached Philadelphia. The Congress viewed the affair in that serious light which its importance exacted. They immediate-

ly despatched commissioners, among whom were generals Reed and Sullivan, to investigate facts and ordain measures calculated to re-establish tranquillity. Arrived in the vicinity of Princeton, they sent to demand of the mutineers what was the motive of their conduct, and what would content them? They answered with arrogance that they were determined to be put off no longer with empty promises; and their intention was, that all the soldiers who had served three years should have their discharge: that those who should be discharged and those who should remain in service should receive immediately the full arrears of their pay, clothing and provisions; and moreover, that they insisted on being paid punctually for the future, without even the delay of twenty-four hours.

General Clinton, who was at New York, being soon informed of this defection in the American army, resolved to leave no means untried that could turn it to advantage. He hastened to despatch to the insurgents, three American loyalists, commissioned to make the following proposals to them in his name: To be taken under the protection of the British government: to have a free pardon for all past offences: to have the pay due to them from Congress faithfully paid, without any expectation of military service in return, although it would be received if voluntarily offered; and the only conditions required on their side, were to lay down their arms, and return to their allegiance. The inability of Congress to satisfy their just demands, and the severity with which they would be treated if they returned to their former servitude, were points to be strongly urged by the agents; and

the insurgents were invited to send persons to Amboy, to meet others who would be appointed by Clinton, in order to discuss and settle the treaty, and bring matters to a final conclusion. But the British general thought proper to do yet more: in order to imbolden the insurgents by his proximity, he passed over to Staten Island, with no small part of his troops. He would not however proceed still farther, and venture to set foot in New Jersey, for fear of exciting a general alarm, and throwing the mutineers directly back into the arms of Congress. The insurgents made no positive answer to Clinton; and they detained his emissaries. In the meantime, the committee of Congress and the delegates of the rebels had opened a negotiation; but such was the exasperation of minds on both sides, that it seemed next to impossible that the differences should be settled by an amicable adjustment. The first offered to grant discharges to those who had taken arms indeterminately for three years or for the term of the war. In cases where the written engagements could not be produced, the soldiers should be admitted to make oath. They were promised certificates in reimbursement of sums they had lost by the depreciation of paper-money: they were assured of the earliest possible payment of arrears; of the immediate delivery of such articles of clothing as they stood in the most urgent need of; and of a total oblivion with respect to their past conduct. These propositions were not fruitless; the mutineers accepted them, and the disturbance was appeased. They afterwards marched to Trenton, where the promises which had been made them were realized. They delivered into the hands of the com-

missioners the emissaries of Clinton, who were accordingly hanged without ceremony or delay.

Thus terminated a tumult which had occasioned the most anxious apprehensions to the American government, and inspired the British general with the most flattering hopes. It is true that many excellent soldiers solicited their discharge, and abandoned the army to rejoin their families. Washington, during the mutiny, made no movement whatever. He remained tranquil in his head-quarters at New Windsor, on the banks of the Hudson. His conduct is to be attributed to several motives. He apprehended lest his own soldiers might take part in the insurrection, or lest their inconsiderable number might not be capable of overawing the mutineers. In retiring from the borders of the Hudson, he must have left exposed to the enterprises of the British general those passages which already had been so often contested. His principal fear, however, was that of lessening his authority over the troops, if he exerted it without success, and it must be admitted that it might have had the most disastrous consequences. Perhaps also, within his own breast, he was not sorry that the Congress as well as the governments of the several states, should have been roused by such a spur; that being struck with the difficulty of collecting the funds necessary to the support of the army, they might for the future redouble activity in that vital part of the public service. A few days after this event, the regular troops of New-Jersey, excited by the example of the insurrection of the Pennsylvanians, and encouraged by the success that attended it, erected in like manner the standard of revolt. But Washington

marched against them a strong corps of soldiers whose fidelity had been proved in the late sedition: the mutineers were soon brought to a sense of duty; and their ringleaders chastised with exemplary severity. This act of rigour put an end to all mutinies. They were followed at least by this salutary consequence, that the government, more clear-sighted with respect to its interests, made useful efforts to remedy the origin of the evil. It sent to camp a sufficient quantity of money in gold and silver, to discharge the pay of three months. The soldiers, consoled by this relief, resumed patience to wait till the operations of finance, which we have mentioned above, had produced the happy effects that were to be expected from them.

During the time in which the Congress, supported by the opinion of Washington and of the most influential individuals of the confederation, laboured to re-establish order in the internal administration, the first source of military successes, the war was carried on with spirit in the provinces of the south. General Greene marched at the head of formidable forces to the deliverance of South Carolina. Lord Cornwallis, considering it as a prey that could not escape him, had left it almost without defence in order to prosecute his designs against Virginia. After his departure, the command of that province devolved upon Lord Rawdon, a young man full of ardour and talents. He had established his head-quarters at Cambden, a place fortified with much diligence. Its garrison, however, was feeble, and, if it sufficed for the defence of the town, it was by no means in a condition to keep the field. The same weakness existed in all

the other posts of the province, that were still occupied by the English. As the public sentiment was everywhere hostile to their domination, they were compelled to divide their troops into a great number of petty detachments in order to maintain themselves in positions necessary to their safety and subsistence. The principal of these points were, the city of Charleston itself, and those of Cambden, Ninety-Six, and Augusta.

Upon the first rumour of the retreat of Cornwallis towards Virginia, the Carolinians had conceived hopes of a new order of things. Already, in many places, they had broken out with violence against the British authorities. Sumpter and Marion, both very enterprising men, fanned the fire of insurrection. They organized in regular companies all those of their party who rallied under their banners. They held in check the frontiers of lower Carolina, while Greene with the main body of his army marched upon Cambden. His approach was already felt in that city by a secret movement in his favour. To animate the minds still more, he had detached colonel Lee, with his light horse, to join Marion and Sumpter. Thus Lord Rawdon found himself all of a sudden assailed not only in front by the army of Greene, but also in jeopardy of having the way intercepted to his retreat upon Charleston. He was slow, however, in believing the accounts which reached him respecting the movements of the enemy. Lord Cornwallis had not neglected to notify him in an authentic manner, that he evacuated Carolina to march against Virginia; but the inhabitants were so adverse to the British cause, that none of his couriers had been able

to traverse the country without falling into their hands. And how was Rawdon to conceive that the fruit of the victory of Guildford should be to constrain Lord Cornwallis to retire before the enemy he had beaten? Rawdon, however, did not allow himself to be intimidated by the peril of his position: he set himself, on the contrary, to devise means for eluding it by his courage and prudence. He would have wished to approach Charleston, but seeing the country infested by the light troops of Sumpter and Greene, he soon relinquished the idea. He was also determined by the consideration that Cambden was a strong place, and capable of sustaining the first efforts of the enemy. He hastened, however, to re-enforce the garrison with all those which he withdrew from posts unsusceptible of defence; only leaving troops in fortified places. Greene, at the head of his army, appeared in view of the ramparts of Cambden; but he found them too well guarded to afford any prospect of success from an attack, which he could only undertake with insufficient forces. He accordingly merely occupied the heights, and intrenched himself upon an eminence, called Hobkirk-Hill, about a mile from the place. He was not without hopes of being able to entice the British to combat: for, though not in a situation to force them behind their walls, he felt strong enough to fight them in the open field. His position was formidably strong. His front between the hill and Cambden was covered by thick brushwood, and his left by a deep and impracticable swamp. The Americans guarded themselves with little care in this encampment: they placed too much confidence in the strength of the place, or in the

weakness of the enemy, or perhaps they did but abandon themselves to that natural negligence which so many disasters had not yet been able to cure them of. Lord Rawdon caused them to be watched attentively; he knew that they had sent their artillery to some distance in their rear, and immediately took a daring resolution, but urged by circumstances, that of attacking. After having armed the musicians, drummers, and every being in his army that was able to carry a firelock, he left the city to the custody of the convalescents, and marched towards Hobkirk.

Not being able to cross the brushwood, nor yet the swamps, which he had before him, he drew off to the right, and by taking an extensive circuit, turned the morass, and came down by surprise upon the left flank of the American line. At the appearance of so pressing a danger, Greene endeavoured to repair, by the promptitude of his dispositions, the negligence of which he felt himself culpable. Having observed that the English marched very compact in a single column, he conceived hopes of being able to fall upon their two flanks. He accordingly ordered colonel Ford to attack the enemy's left with a Maryland regiment, while colonel Campbell should assail them on the right. He then directed a charge in front, to be led by colonel Gunby, while colonel Washington with his cavalry should turn their right, and assault them in rear. The combat soon became general, and was pushed with equal resolution on both sides. The royal troops began at first to give way; the ranks of their infantry and cavalry were broken. Their disorder was still increased by a violent fire of grape-shot, with which they were taken in rear by an

American battery which had just arrived upon the field of battle. In this critical moment, Lord Rawdon pushed forward a battalion of Irish volunteers and some other companies, of which he had formed a reserve. These fresh troops restored the fortune of the day. The action was grown excessively hot, and alternate undulations equalized the success. But at length a Maryland regiment, vigorously charged by the enemy, fell into confusion and took flight. This struck a damp into the whole line, and the rout was shortly general. The Americans attempted several times to rally, but always in vain; the English pushed them too fiercely. They entered almost at the same time with them into the intrenchments upon the ridge.

Meanwhile, colonel Washington, agreeably to the orders of his general, had arrived with his corps of cavalry upon the rear of the British army, before it had recovered from the disorder into which it had been thrown by the first shock. He took advantage of it to make a great number of prisoners. But when he saw that the position of Greene was forced, he thought proper to retreat. A part of the prisoners escaped: the remainder he conducted to camp, where he rejoined the main body of the army.

General Greene, after this check, had fallen back upon Gun-Swamp, five miles from Hobkirk, where he remained several days to collect the fugitives and re-organize the army. This affair, which was called the battle of Hobkirk, was fought the twenty-fifth of April. Lord Rawdon, being inferior in cavalry, and enfeebled by a great loss of men, instead of pursuing Greene, had re-entered within the walls of

Cambden. He was desirous to make that place the centre of his operations, and this he was the more inclined to do, since he had just received a re-enforcement of troops under the conduct of colonel Watson. But he was informed that the inhabitants of the whole interior country at his back, had revolted with one consent, that already fort Watson had capitulated, and that those of Granby, Orangeburgh and Motte, were closely invested. The last, situated near the junction of the Congaree with the Santee, and containing extensive magazines, was of no little importance. Lord Rawdon, reflecting that all these forts were upon his rear, judged his situation imminently hazardous. He therefore resolved to evacuate Cambden and retire lower down towards Charleston; this resolution he executed the ninth of May. He rased the fortifications, put in safety all the artillery and baggage, and brought off the families of the loyalists, who by their zeal for the royal cause had rendered themselves odious to the republicans. The whole army arrived on the thirteenth at Nelsons-Ferry, upon the banks of the Santee river. Here, having received the unwelcome tidings that all the forts mentioned above were fallen into the hands of the Americans, the British general raised his camp, and carried it still farther back to Eutaw-Springs.

General Greene, perceiving that Rawdon, by retreating into the lower parts of Carolina, had abandoned all thoughts of maintaining himself in the upper country, formed a design to reduce Ninety-Six and Augusta, the only posts that still held out for the king. These two forts were already invested by the militia headed by colonels Pickens and Clarke. Greene ap-

peared with his army before the walls of Ninety-Six and proceeded to push the siege by regular approaches. One of the officers who distinguished themselves the most in that operation was colonel Kosciusko, a young Pole, full of enthusiasm for the cause of the Americans. The defence of the place was directed by lieutenant-colonel Cruger. During this time, colonel Pickens vigorously pushed his operations against the town of Augusta, which was defended with equal bravery and ability by colonel Brown. These two places were very strong, and could not be reduced but by a long siege.

Meanwhile Lord Rawdon saw with extreme solicitude that in losing these posts, whose value he justly appreciated, he must also lose the garrisons which defended them. A re-enforcement of three regiments newly arrived at Charleston from Ireland, gave him hopes of being able to relieve these fortresses, and principally Ninety-Six. Every course which presented itself to his mind being equally difficult and dangerous, he preferred without hesitation that which appeared the most magnanimous. He received intelligence on his march of the loss of Augusta. Pressed with great industry by colonel Pickens, and without hope of relief, that place had just surrendered to the arms of Congress. This disaster operated with the British general as a new motive for endeavouring to preserve Ninety-Six. Upon the rumour of the approach of Rawdon, Greene reflected that the number and discipline of his soldiers was not such as to afford a hope that he would be able to resist, at the same time, the garrison of Ninety-Six, and the fresh and warlike troops that were

advancing against him. On the other hand, to raise the siege before having attempted some vigorous stroke against the place, appeared to him too disgraceful a step. Accordingly, however imperfect were the works of attack, he resolved to hazard an assault. He had already reached the ditch, it is true, and had pushed a sap to the foot of a bastion, but the fortifications were yet in a great measure entire. The body of the place was therefore to be considered as being proof against insult. But general Greene was desirous at least to save in his retreat the honour of the American arms. A general assault was therefore given with extreme impetuosity, which the English sustained with no less valour. Greene, seeing the terrible carnage which the artillery made among his soldiers, in the ditch not yet filled up with the ruins of the breach, determined at length to retire. Soon after this check, Lord Rawdon being now but a small distance from his camp, he raised it all at once, and withdrew beyond the Tiger and the Broad rivers. The royalists followed him, but in vain. The British general having entered into Ninety-Six, examined the state of the place, and was of opinion that it could not hold out against a regular attack. He therefore put himself again on the march, directing it towards the lower parts of Carolina, and proceeded to establish his head-quarters at Orangeburgh. Imboldened by his retreat, Greene soon showed himself before this last place. But at sight of the British forces, and of their excellent position, covered by the windings of the river, he paused, and bent his march towards the heights which border the Santee.

The hot and sickly season being arrived it effected that which could not have been expected from the rage of men; hostilities ceased. It would seem that during this suspension of arms, civil hatreds were re-kindled with increase of fury. The English especially, as if to revenge their defeats showed themselves more exasperated than the Americans. It was at this epoch that there passed a lamentable event, which excited to the highest degree the indignation of all America, and particularly of the Carolinas. Colonel Isaac Hayne had warmly espoused the cause of American Independence. During the siege of Charleston he had served in a volunteer corps of light horse. After the surrender of that city, Hayne, who was tenderly attached to his family, could not find in his heart to part with it in order to seek refuge in distant places against the tyranny of the victors. He knew that other American officers had obtained permission to return peaceably to their habitations, on giving their parole not to act against the interests of the king. He repaired therefore to Charleston, went to the British generals and constituted himself their prisoner of war. But knowing all the resources of his mind, and the authority he possessed among the inhabitants, they wished to have him entirely in their power, and refused to receive him in the character he was come to claim. They signified to him that he must acknowledge himself for a British subject, or submit to be detained in a rigorous captivity. This idea would not have intimidated colonel Hayne: but he could not endure that of being so long separated from his wife and children. He knew also that they were under the attack of small-pox: and soon after,

in effect, the mother and two of the children became the victims of that cruel malady. Neither could he overlook that if he did not accede to what was exacted of him, an unbridled soldiery waited only the signal to sack and devastate his plantations.

In this distressing alternative the father, the husband triumphed in his breast: he consented to invest himself with the condition of British subject. The only favour he demanded was, that he might not be constrained to bear arms against his party. This was solemnly promised him by the British general Patterson, and by Simcoe, superintendent of police at Charleston. But before taking this perilous resolution he had waited upon Doctor Ramsay, the same who afterwards wrote the history of the American revolution, praying him to bear witness to the future that he by no means intended to abandon the cause of independence. As soon as he had signed the oath of allegiance, he had permission to return to his residence.

Meanwhile the war rekindled with new violence; and the Americans, hitherto beaten and dispersed, resumed the offensive with such vigour that the British generals were alarmed at their progress. Then, no longer regarding the promises which they had made to colonel Hayne, they intimated to him an order to take arms and march with them against the revolted republicans. He refused. The troops of Congress afterwards penetrated into the country: the inhabitants of his district rose and elected him for their chief. No longer considering himself bound to keep that faith which it appeared that others were not disposed to keep towards him, he yielded to the

wish of his countrymen, and again took up those arms which he had laid down through necessity. He scoured the country in the vicinity of Charleston at the head of a corps of dragoons. But it was not long before he fell into an ambuscade laid for him by the British commanders. He was immediately conducted to the city, and thrust into a deep dungeon. Without form of trial, Lord Rawdon and colonel Balfour, the commandant of Charleston, condemned him to death. This sentence appeared to every one, as it was in reality, an act of barbarity. Even deserters are indulged with a regular trial, and find defenders: spies only are deprived of this privilege by the laws of war. Royalists and republicans all equally pitied the colonel, whose virtues they esteemed: they would fain have saved his life. They did not restrict themselves to mere wishes: a deputation of loyalists, having the governor in behalf of the king at their head, waited upon Lord Rawdon, and earnestly solicited him in favour of the condemned. The most distinguished ladies of Charleston united their prayers to the general recommendation that his pardon might be granted. His children, still of tender age, accompanied by their nearest relations, and wearing mourning for their mother, whom they had so recently lost, threw themselves at the feet of Rawdon, demanding with the most touching cries the life of their unhappy father. All the by-standers seconded with floods of tears the petition of these hapless orphans. Rawdon and Balfour obstinately refused to mitigate the rigour of their decision.

When about to be conducted to death, colonel Hayne called into his presence his eldest son, then

thirteen years of age. He delivered him papers addressed to the Congress, then said to him: "Thou wilt come to the place of my execution; thou wilt receive my body, and cause it to be deposited in the tomb of our ancestors." Being arrived at the foot of the gibbet, he took leave in the most affecting manner of the friends who surrounded him, and armed himself to his last moment with the firmness which had honoured his life. He was in the same degree, a man of worth, a tender father, a zealous patriot, and an intrepid soldier. If the tyranny of the prince, or the impatience of the people, render political revolutions sometimes inevitable, it is certainly much to be deplored that the first and principal victims of this scourge, should be, almost always, citizens the most worthy of general esteem and affection. After having taken this cruel vengeance of a man so universally respected, Lord Rawdon left the capital of Carolina shaded with melancholy, and brooding terrible reprisals: he made sail for England. To this act of rigour on the part of the English generals, without doubt, may be applied the ancient adage: "An extreme justice is an extreme injury." But whatever may be thought of its justice, it must be admitted, that the English, in showing themselves so ruthless at a moment when their affairs were already in such declension, appeared much more eager to satiate the fury of a vanquished enemy than to accomplish an equitable law. The aversion of the Americans for their barbarous foes, acquired a new character of implacable animosity. The officers of the army of general Greene solicited him to use reprisals, declaring that they were ready to run all the risks that might

ensue from it. He issued, in effect, a proclamation by which he threatened to retaliate the death of colonel Hayne upon the persons of the British officers that might fall into his hands. Thus to the evils inseparable from war, were joined the excesses produced by hatred and vengeance.

General Greene during this interval had not remained idle in his camp upon the heights of the Santee. He had occupied himself without relaxation in strengthening his army, in perfecting the old troops by frequent manœuvres, and in disciplining the new corps. His diligence had not failed of success. Reinforced by the militia of the neighbouring districts, he saw under his banners soldiers no less formidable to the English by their warlike ardour than by their number. The temperature of the season being become less burning, at the commencement of September, he resolved to employ his forces in expelling the British troops from the few towns which they still occupied in South Carolina, besides the city of Charleston. Having taken a circuitous march towards the upper Congaree, he passed it, and descended rapidly along the right bank with all his army, in order to attack the English, who, under the command of colonel Stewart, occupied the post of Macords-Ferry, near the confluence of that river with the Santee. The royalists, on seeing the approach of an enemy so superior in force, and especially in cavalry, reflected that they were too remote from Charleston, whence they drew their subsistence. They hastened therefore to quit Macords-Ferry, and fell back upon Eutaw-Springs, where they laboured to intrench themselves. Greene pursued them thither, and the eighth

of September witnessed the battle of Eutaw-Springs. According to the dispositions of the American general, the van-guard was composed of the militia of the two Carolinas, and the centre of the regular troops of those provinces, of Virginia, and of Maryland. Colonel Lee with his legion covered the right flank, and colonel Henderson the left. The rear-guard consisted of the dragoons of colonel Washington and the militia of Delaware. It was a corps of reserve destined to support the first lines. The artillery advanced upon their front.

The British commander formed his troops in two lines, the first was defended on the right by the little river Eutaw, and on the left by a thick wood. The second, forming a reserve, crowned the heights which command the Charleston road. After some skirmishing between the marksmen of the one and other army, they fell back behind the ranks, and the engagement became general. It was supported for a considerable time with balanced success: but at length, the militia of Carolina were broken, and retired in disorder. The British division which formed the left of the first line, quitted its position to pursue them. In this movement it lost its distances, and could no longer combat in company with the other part of the line. The Americans observed this opening and profited of it immediately. Greene pushed forward his second line: it charged so vigorously, that the English in their turn were shaken, and began to recoil in confusion. To complete their rout, colonel Lee with his cavalry turned their left, and fell upon their rear. This manœuvre precipitated the flight of all that wing of the British army. The right alone still

held firm. But Greene caused it to be attacked briskly in front by the regular troops of Maryland and Virginia, while the cavalry of colonel Washington took it in flank. The trepidation then became general; all the corps of the British army tumbled one over another through haste to recover their intrenchments. Already the Americans had taken several pieces of artillery and a great number of prisoners. Victory seemed completely in their hands. But how often has it been remarked that the events of war depend upon the caprices of chance. Troops accustomed to a rigid discipline, are frequently able to rally in the midst of disorder, and recover, in an instant, what they appeared to have lost irreparably. The battle we describe affords a memorable example of it. The English, in their flight, threw themselves into a large and very strong house, where they resolved to make a desperate defence. Others took shelter in a thick and almost impenetrable brush-wood; and others in a garden fenced with palisades. Here the action re-commenced with more obstinacy than at first. The republicans did all that was to be expected of valiant soldiers to dislodge their enemies from these new posts. The house was battered by four pieces of artillery. Colonel Washington, on the right, endeavoured to penetrate into the wood, and colonel Lee to force the garden. Their efforts were vain; the English defended themselves so strenuously, that they repulsed the assailants with heavy loss. Colonel Washington himself was wounded and taken. The conflict was fierce, the carnage dreadful, but nowhere more than about the house. Meanwhile, colonel Stewart, having rallied his right wing, pushed it

forward, by a circuitous movement, against the left flank of the Americans. This bold manœuvre convinced the American general that he would but vainly waste torrents of blood in further attempts to drive the enemy from their posts, and he ordered a retreat. He returned to his first encampment, some miles distant from the field of battle. This retrograde march was attributed to want of water. He brought off about five hundred prisoners, and all his wounded, with the exception of those who were too near the walls of the house. He lost two pieces of cannon. The English passed the rest of the day in their intrenchments. At night, they abandoned them and descended to Monks-Corner. The Americans write that the royalists, in their hurry, had staved the casks containing spirituous liquors, and broken, or thrown into the Eutaw, a great quantity of arms. The loss of Greene in this action was estimated at upwards of six hundred men in killed, wounded and prisoners: that of Stewart, inclusive of the missing, was much more considerable. The American soldiers exhibited in this combat an extraordinary valour. Impatient to close with their enemies, they promptly resorted to the bayonet, a weapon which they seemed to dread in the commencement of hostilities, and which was now become so formidable in their war-trained hands. The Congress voted public thanks to those who had taken part in the battle of Eutaw Springs. They presented general Greene with a conquered standard, and a medal of gold.

A short time after, having received some re-enforcements, he resolved to make another trial of fortune, and marched against the English in lower Caro-

lina. His appearance in the environs of Monks-Corner, and of Dorchester, decided them to evacuate the open country and shut themselves up entirely within Charleston. They contented themselves with sending out scouts, and foraging parties, who durst not venture far from the place. Greene, from his great superiority in light troops, repulsed them upon all points, and intercepted their convoys. In this manner the American general put an end to the campaign of the South. After a long and sanguinary struggle, his masterly manœuvres recovered to the confederation the two Carolinas and Georgia, excepting only the two capitals of the one and other province, which still obeyed the English, with a slender portion of territory in their immediate vicinity; such were the fruits of the resolution taken by Lord Cornwallis, at Wilmington, of carrying his arms against Virginia. But to Greene great eulogies are due for the talents he signalized in this conjuncture. When he came to relieve general Gates in the command of the southern army, the state of things was not only calamitous, but almost desperate. By his genius, activity and boldness, the evil was remedied so promptly, that from vanquished, his soldiers became soon victorious: from despondency, the people passed to a confidence without bounds; and the English, but now so arrogant, were forced to seek their only safety behind the walls of Charleston.

The social qualities, ingenuousness and affability of manners, set off in Greene the glory of the warrior. His virtues triumphed over envy itself: illustrious for the eminent services which he rendered his coun-

try, and uniformly modest and unaffected, he merited that his name should be transmitted immaculate to posterity. Virginia was less fortunate than Carolina: Arnold, as if he had coveted to couple the name of bandit with that of traitor, carried fire and sword into that province. Private property he respected as little as that of the state. This horrible expedition, as we have already remarked, had been ordained by the British generals with no other view but that of seconding the efforts of Cornwallis in the Carolinas, by diverting the attention and dividing the forces of the enemy. In effect, the reduction of Virginia to the power of the king with means so inadequate, was a thing impossible to be executed, or even to be expected. This was soon demonstrated. The disastrous consequences of the plan adopted by Cornwallis, were equally fatal for Arnold. Already, the rising of the militia of all the adjacent parts had forced him to abandon the open country, and fall back with precipitation upon Portsmouth, where he fortified himself with extreme diligence. On the other hand, Washington, attentive to all his movements, and wishing to gratify the just resentment of the American nation towards its betrayer, formed a design to environ him so effectually, by land and sea, as to render his escape impossible. With this intent, he had detached the Marquis de la Fayette towards Virginia, at the head of twelve hundred light infantry; and had also induced the commander of the French fleet at Rhode Island to despatch a squadron of eight sail of the line, under the Chevalier Destouches, to cut off the retreat of Arnold from the Chesapeake. But the English being early apprized of it, admiral Arbuthnot made sail

from New York with a squadron of equal force, and fell in with the French off Cape-Henry. A warm engagement ensued, in which the loss of the two fleets was nearly balanced. The French, however, found themselves constrained to relinquish their designs, and returned to Rhode Island. Upon this intelligence, M. de la Fayette, who was already arrived at Annapolis, in Maryland, marched thence to the head of Elk. Thus Arnold escaped from, probably, the most imminent danger in which he had ever been involved. The Americans had afterwards occasion to send a flag to his head-quarters. It is related that the traitor-general asked the person who bore it, what they would have done with him if they had taken him? The American answered without hesitation: "If we had taken thee, we should have buried with every mark of honour, that of thy legs which was wounded when thou wast in our service: the rest of thy body we should have hanged."

On hearing of the danger which had menaced Arnold, general Clinton doubted lest the generals of Congress might be more happy in a second attempt. He therefore immediately despatched a re-enforcement of two thousand men, under the conduct of general Phillips. His junction with Arnold put them in condition to resume the offensive; and their inroads into Virginia were again signalized by devastation and pillage. At Osborn, they destroyed a great number of vessels, rich magazines of merchandise and principally of tobacco. The Baron Steuben, who commanded the republicans, found himself too weak to resist. Fortunately, the Marquis de la Fayette arrived in time to save the opulent city of Rich-

mond. There, however, he was forced to witness the conflagration of Manchester, a town situated opposite to Richmond, upon the right bank of the James river. The English were pleased to burn it without any necessity. But soon this partisan war was directed towards a single and determinate object. General Phillips had received intelligence that Lord Cornwallis approached, and that he was already on the point of arriving at Petersburg. M. de la Fayette was advised of it likewise. Both, accordingly, exerted themselves to reach Petersburg before the troops that were advancing from Carolina; the one to join Cornwallis, the other to prevent this junction. The English outstripped their adversaries, and occupied that little city. There, general Phillips was carried off by a malignant fever: his military talents rendered his loss peculiarly painful to his party.

After a march of three hundred miles, in the midst of difficulties of every sort, Lord Cornwallis at length arrived at Petersburg, where he took the general command of all the British forces. The establishment of the seat of war in Virginia, coincided perfectly with the designs which the British ministers had formed upon this province. As soon as they were informed of the victory of Guildford, they had persuaded themselves that the two Carolinas were entirely reduced under the authority of the king, and that little else remained to be done besides re-organizing in them the accustomed civil administration. They had not the least doubt that wise regulations would consummate the work which the arms of Cornwallis had so happily commenced. They built with particular confidence, on the support of the loyalists.

Notwithstanding so many fatal experiments, so many abortive hopes, they still eagerly listened to all the illusions, and to all the news spread by the refugees, so unavoidably impelled by their position to cherish the wildest chimeras. The British government therefore expected that the co-operation of the loyalists, a few garrisons left in the most important posts, together with the terror of the arms of Cornwallis, would suffice to curb the patriots, and to confirm the submission of these provinces. As to Virginia, intersected by a great number of broad and deep rivers, whose mouths form upon its coasts several gulfs or bays suitable for anchorage, the naval forces sent thither by Rodney from the West Indies, seemed to guaranty the naval superiority of England in those waters. Accordingly, the ministers never allowed themselves to doubt, that if this province could not be entirely reduced, it would at least be very easy to press it, and waste it to such a degree that its utility should cease for the American Union. They had therefore decided that the commanders of the land forces should make choice of an advantageous position upon the coasts of Virginia, and that they should secure the possession of it by fortifications capable of repelling all attacks of the enemy. This measure and the presumed superiority of the British marine, appeared to the cabinet of St. James's, a sure pledge of the entire subjugation of Virginia; and for the reasons already stated, it felt perfectly assured of the possession of the two Carolinas, as also of Georgia. It was deemed the more certain that nothing was to be feared from the French squadrons, as the coasts of these vast provinces are nearly without ports, and

since the few they offer were in the power of the royal troops. Finding themselves thus already masters of four rich provinces in the south, as well as of that of New York, inestimable alike for its resources, and for its ports, the ministers persuaded themselves that the moment could not be distant when the Americans would yield through weariness and exhaustion. They felicitated themselves that, at all events, they were able to resume the offensive.

Such were the reasonings at London; but it was not known there that the British fleets, instead of having the advantage in point of force, were decidedly inferior in the American seas; that the Carolinas, instead of being in the power of the king, were returned almost totally under that of the Congress: and that although Cornwallis was indeed arrived in Virginia, he had shown himself there, notwithstanding his success at Guildford, rather as vanquished than as victor.

Meanwhile, Cornwallis, after having staid a few days at Petersburg, where he was re-enforced by some hundred soldiers sent him from New York by Clinton, took a resolution to cross the river James, and penetrate into the interior of Virginia. He had little apprehension of meeting American troops; supposing them both too weak, and too much dispersed to attempt resistance. In effect, the Baron Steuben occupied the upper parts of the province, the Marquis de la Fayette the maritime districts, and general Wayne, who was on the march with the regular troops of Pennsylvania, was still at a great distance. The British general therefore crossed the river without opposition at Westover; the Marquis de la

Fayette had retired behind the Chickahominy. Thence, Cornwallis detached a corps which occupied Portsmouth. The loyalists, or those who wished to appear such, repaired to that city in order to give in their paroles and to receive protections. The county of Hanover was entirely overrun by the foragers of the British army. Lord Cornwallis was informed, about this time, that many of the most considerable men of the country were assembled in convention at Charlotteville, to regulate the affairs of the province; and that the Baron Steuben was posted at the Point of Fork, situated at the junction of the rivers James and Rivana. The Americans had established at this place magazines of arms and munitions of war. These advices, added to the consideration that this part of the territory not having yet been the theatre of war, was likely to abound in every kind of supplies, determined Lord Cornwallis to attempt, first of all, the expeditions of Charlotteville and the Point of Fork. He committed the first to Tarleton, the second to Simcoe. Both were crowned with success. The first, by the rapidity of his march, arrived so unexpectedly upon the city that he seized a great number of deputies, and made himself master of a considerable quantity of warlike stores and provision. But the personage, whom he had it most at heart to secure, was one of those who escaped him, and that was Thomas Jefferson, since president of the United States: having had the good fortune to be timely apprized of the approach of the British troops, he put himself out of their reach; not however without having first, with extreme pains and the assistance of his neighbours, provided for the safety of no

small quantity of arms and ammunition. If Tarleton had sometimes complained of the too great benignity of his comrades, no one, assuredly, could make him the same reproach. His rapacity and imprudence no longer observed any bounds; nothing was sacred in his sight, nothing escaped his barbarous hands. Simcoe, on his part, had moved with equal celerity against the Baron Steuben. That general might have made a vigorous resistance: it is not known what motive could have decided him to a precipitate retreat; and yet he was not able to protect his rear-guard against the pursuit of the British, who reached it, and cut a part of in pieces. When the colonels Tarleton and Simcoe were returned to camp, Lord Cornwallis, traversing a rich and fertile country, marched upon Richmond, and, a little after, upon Williamsburgh, the capital of Virginia. His light troops, however, could no longer forage at large; the Marquis de la Fayette had joined the Baron Steuben, and having been re-enforced by the Pennsylvania regiments of general Wayne, he found himself in a situation to watch all the movements of the British army, and to cut off the parties that ventured to stray from it. Cornwallis received at this same time orders from general Clinton, requiring him to re-embark a part of his troops for New York. Not that Clinton meditated any important stroke; but he had been advised of the approach of the Allies, and he expected to see the storm burst upon his head. He feared at the same time for New York, Staten Island, and Long Island; his force was not sufficient for their defence. In order to obey, Cornwallis marched his troops towards the banks of the James river. He intended, after hav-

ing passed it, to repair to Portsmouth, where he would have embarked the corps destined for New York. But as M. de la Fayette followed him extremely close, he found himself constrained to make a halt upon the left bank of the river, and to take possession of a strong position, in order to repress the impetuosity of his adversary, and give time to his troops for passing the artillery, munitions and baggage to the other side. He encamped therefore along the river, having his right covered by a pond, and the centre and left by swamps.

Meanwhile the American van-guard, commanded by general Wayne, had advanced very near. The English despatched spies among the Americans, in order to make them believe that the bulk of the royal army had already passed to the right bank, and that only a feeble rear-guard remained upon the left, consisting of the British legion and some detachments of infantry. Whether the republicans allowed themselves to be caught in this snare, or that they were hurried away by an inconsiderate valour, they fell with great fury upon the royal troops. Already the regular regiments of Pennsylvania, led by general Wayne, had passed the swamp, and fiercely assailed the left wing of the royalists; and notwithstanding the great superiority of the enemy, the assailants appeared no wise daunted. But the English having passed the pond, advanced against the left wing, which consisted entirely of militia. Having dispersed it without difficulty, they showed themselves upon the left flank of Wayne. At the same time extending their own left beyond the swamp, they had turned his right, and manifested an intention of surround-

ing him on every side. The Marquis de la Fayette perceived this manœuvre, and immediately directed Wayne to fall back. He was unable to execute this movement without leaving two pieces of cannon in the power of the enemy. M. de la Fayette remained some time at Green-Springs, in order to collect the scattered soldiers. Cornwallis re-entered his intrenchments. The approach of night, and the nature of the country, broken with woods and marshes, prevented him from pursuing the Americans. The next morning, before sunrise, he detached his cavalry upon the route taken by the Marquis de la Fayette, with orders to hang upon his rear, and harass him as much as possible. All the harm it did him, consisted in the taking of a few soldiers who had lagged behind. It is presumable that if Cornwallis had advanced the following day with all his force, he might have cut off the republicans entirely. But all his views were directed towards Portsmouth, in order to embark the troops there which Clinton expected at New York. When he had passed the river James with his whole army, he accordingly hastened to Portsmouth: but upon a strict examination of places, he was convinced that they did not offer him a position suitable by its strength and other advantages to favour the ulterior designs of Clinton. He proceeded, however, with diligence to embark the troops. In the meantime he received new instructions from Clinton, directing him to return to Williamsburgh, to retain all the troops he had with him, and instead of Portsmouth, to make his place of arms of Point-Comfort, in order to have, in any event, a secure retreat.

Two principal causes had determined general Clinton to embrace this new resolution: he had received from Europe a re-enforcement of three thousand Germans; and he was influenced, besides, by a desire to open himself a passage by way of Hampton and the James river, towards that fertile and populous part of Virginia which lies between the James and York rivers. But Point-Comfort, on attentive examination, was found an equally unfavourable and defective position for an intrenched camp, and no less incompetent than Portsmouth for the purposes in view. It was therefore determined to relinquish the design of fortifying it. The plan of future operations requiring, however, the occupation of a fixed point in the country comprehended by the above mentioned rivers, Lord Cornwallis resolved to re-pass the river James with all his army, and take up his head-quarters at Yorktown. The Marquis de la Fayette was desirous to oppose his passage; but the Americans that were in his camp would not consent to march lower down towards Portsmouth.

Yorktown is a village situated upon the right bank of the river York, and opposite to another smaller town called Gloucester. The latter is built upon a point of land which projects into the river from the left side, and which considerably diminishes the breadth of its channel. The water is deep there, and capable of receiving the largest ships of war. On the right of Yorktown flows a marshy stream; in front of the place, for the distance of a mile, the ground is open and level. In advance of this plain is a wood, whose left extends to the river, and whose right is bordered by a creek. Beyond the wood the country

is champaign and cultivated. Cornwallis applied his attention to intrench himself in the strongest possible manner upon this ground.

After the affair of Jamestown, the Marquis de la Fayette had retired between the rivers Mattaponi and Pamunky, the waters of which united, compose the York river. Upon intelligence of the new position taken by Cornwallis, he re-crossed the Pamunky, and took post in the county of New Kent: not that he intended to attack the English; his force did not admit of it; but he was disposed, at least, to harass them, to repress their excursions, and to prevent their foraging in the country. Washington had entrusted M. de la Fayette with the charge of defending Virginia; he acquitted himself of it in the most satisfactory manner: sometimes by his manœuvres holding Cornwallis in check, and sometimes combating him with vigour, he at length conducted him to a place, where he might hope to be seconded by the powerful French fleet that was expected upon the American coast.

Hitherto the campaign of Virginia had presented no inconsiderable vicissitude of events; but all equally destitute of importance. The scene was changed; and the plan which tended, by a decisive stroke, to put an end to the whole American war, drew day by day more near to its accomplishment. The American government was informed that the Count de Grasse with his fleet and a body of land troops was about to arrive. It therefore neglected no dispositions that were demanded by the occasion, in order to be in a situation to profit of the great superiority which the Allies were soon to have, as well by land, as by sea. To this end, Washington and Rocham-

beau had an interview at Wethersfield. The Count de Barras, who commanded the French squadron at anchor in Rhode Island, was likewise to have been present at the conference, but was detained by other duties. The siege of New York was resolved upon between the two generals. They agreed that it was necessary to wrest from the English that shelter, which from the commencement of hostilities to the present hour, had been so favourable to their enterprises. From that day, all the movements of the French and Americans were directed towards this object. They had calculated them in such a manner as that the appearance of the Count de Grasse upon the American coasts, should be the signal for commencing the siege. Clinton so dreaded the blow, that solely on this account, he had determined, as we have seen, to recall a part of the troops of Cornwallis prior to the arrival of the German corps. Washington cherished good hope of success in the expedition of New York; he felt assured that the states of the Union, particularly those of the north, would promptly satisfy the requisitions which had been made them, to furnish each a determinate number of soldiers. But they had accomplished only in part the desires of the commander-in-chief. Instead of twelve or fifteen thousand continental troops that he had hoped to assemble for an operation of this importance, he found himself at the head of only four or five thousand regulars, and about an equal number of militia. It was however to be considered that the conquest of New York would require great efforts, since general Clinton had a garrison there of more than ten thousand men. The enterprise could not reasonably be undertaken with

so inadequate a force. Moreover, the Count de Grasse had declared that in consequence of the orders of his sovereign, and of the convention he had made with the Spaniards in the West Indies, it would not be possible for him to remain upon the coasts of America later than the middle of October: and assuredly so short a space of time would not have sufficed for the reduction of New York. Finally, it was known that sea officers in general, and especially the French, had no little repugnance to crossing the bar which lies at the entrance of the harbour of that city. All these considerations diverted Washington from his purpose of besieging New York. He reflected that although his army was too weak for that enterprise, it was nevertheless sufficient to act with great probability of success against Cornwallis in Virginia; and he accordingly decided for the more attainable object. But the movements he had already made, having given jealousy to Clinton for New York, he resolved, notwithstanding that he had changed his plan, to nourish the suspicions of his adversary by a series of the most spirited demonstrations; to the end that he might not penetrate his real design, and throw obstacles in its way. In order to lead him more speciously into the snare, he wrote letters to the southern commanders and to members of the government, informing them of his determination to attack New York. He sent these despatches by such ways as he knew would expose them to be intercepted by the enemy. The stratagem succeeded perfectly. Clinton, full of apprehension for a city which had become his place of arms, was indefatigable in multiplying its defences. In the mean time, the Count de Rochambeau, had set

out from Rhode Island, at the head of five thousand French, and was already advanced near the borders of the Hudson. Washington broke up his camp at New-Windsor, and went to meet him upon the eastern bank. After their junction, the combined armies encamped at Philipsburgh, in a situation to overawe Kingsbridge and the adjoining posts, and even to alarm the island of New York. They afterwards actually took post at Kingsbridge, and continued to insult the British out-posts on all sides. Not content with these demonstrations, the principal officers of both armies attended by the engineers, reconnoitred the island of New York closely on both sides from the opposite shores; and to render appearances the more serious, took plans of all the works under the fire of their batteries. At the same time, a report of the expected daily arrival of the Count de Grasse was sedulously propagated; and to give it full confirmation, when they had received advices from that commander of the time at which he hoped to arrive at the Chesapeak, the French troops advanced towards Sandy Hook, and the coasts opposite Staten Island, with an apparent view of seconding the operations of the fleet, in forcing the one and seizing upon the other. This deception was carried so far, as to the establishment of a bakery near the mouth of the Rariton, and just within the Hook.

According to these different movements of the combined army, general Clinton no longer doubted but that New York was menaced with an immediate attack. But the time was now at hand, when this bandage, which had been drawn with so much address over the eyes of the British commander, was

ready to fall, and admit him to a clear view of the truth. When Washington had authentic intelligence that the Count de Grasse was no longer far from the Chesapeake, he suddenly passed the Croton, then the Hudson; and proceeded by forced marches through New Jersey to Trenton upon the Delaware. He gave out, however, and even persuaded the British general by his demonstrations, that his only object was to draw him out of New York, in order to fight him in the open field with superior forces. Clinton, thinking to defeat one shrewd turn by another, remained behind his walls: but the American generalissimo having at length received advice that the French fleet was in sight of the coasts, no longer delayed to cross the Delaware. He marched with extreme celerity across Pennsylvania, and appeared all of a sudden at the head of Elk, upon the northern extremity of the Chesapeake bay. An hour after, so admirably had the operations been concerted, or rather by the most fortunate accident, the Count de Grasse entered into the bay the twenty-eighth of August, with twenty-five sail of the line; and no sooner was he arrived than he set himself to execute the plan agreed upon. He blocked up the mouths of the two rivers of York and James. By making himself master of the first, he cut off all maritime correspondence between Cornwallis and New York: by the occupation of the second, he opened a communication with the Marquis de la Fayette, who had already descended as far as Williamsburgh. His position had occasioned at first some disquietude. It was feared lest Cornwallis, perceiving at length the circle that was traced around him, might profit of the superiority that he still had

over the Marquis, to fall upon him, overwhelm him, and thus escape into the Carolinas. Not a moment was lost in preventing so fatal a stroke; three thousand French troops embarked in light boats, and commanded by the Marquis de St. Simon, ascended the James river, and made their junction with the Marquis de la Fayette; he had established his headquarters at Williamsburgh. The English had already much increased the fortifications of Yorktown, and were still at work on them with indefatigable industry. The Allies had therefore to expect a siege in form: and a powerful train of heavy artillery was indispensably necessary. Three days before the arrival of M. de Grasse in the Chesapeak, the Count de Barras had made sail from Rhode Island with four ships of the line and some frigates or corvettes: he had embarked whatever implements of siege he had been able to collect. But he was not ignorant that a numerous British squadron lay in the port of New York, and he was sensible that the succour with which he was charged could not be intercepted without destroying all hope of success. He had therefore stood far out to sea, and after reaching the waters of the Bahama Islands, had shaped his course for the Chesapeak. Admiral Hood had appeared at the entrance of that bay, with fourteen sail of the line, the very day on which the Count de Grasse had arrived there; disappointed at not finding admiral Graves, whom he had counted upon meeting in those waters, he immediately despatched a swift-sailing frigate to apprize him of his arrival, and proceeded, without loss of time, to join him with all his fleet at Sandy Hook. Admiral Graves, as we have already seen,

had received no previous notice whatever of the intended approach of Hood. His ships also had suffered extremely by violent gales of wind during his cruise in the waters of Boston, and were entirely out of condition to put to sea. The chief command having devolved on him, as senior officer, the moment he was informed that the Count de Barras had set sail from Rhode Island, he had pushed the reparation of his fleet with so much activity, that by the last day of August it was again fitted for sea. At the head of nineteen sail of the line, he set sail for the Chesapeake, which he hoped to gain before the Count de Barras. It appears that he was still in total ignorance of the arrival of the Count de Grasse in that bay. As soon as the British admiral had made Cape Henry, he discovered the French fleet, which consisted at that moment of twenty-four sail of the line. It extended from the cape to the bank called the Middle-Ground. Notwithstanding he had five ships less than his adversary, Graves prepared himself instantly for action. On the other hand, the Count de Grasse, at sight of the British fleet, slipped his cables with admirable promptitude, and, full of confidence in victory, advanced with press of sail to encounter the enemy. The intention of the English was to engage as close an action as possible. They perceived how fatal an influence the loss of so important an occasion might have upon the success of the British arms, and even upon the issue of the war. A total defeat would scarcely have been more prejudicial to the interests of England than a loose and indecisive battle. It left the French masters of the Chesapeake, and Lord Cornwallis still exposed to the same perils. But the

Count de Grasse, sensible of his advantages, would not refer to the caprices of fortune the decision of events, which he considered himself as already certain of controlling. This prudent course seemed also to be prescribed him by the absence of fifteen hundred of his seamen, who were then employed in conveying M. de St. Simon's troops up the river James; and the British fleet made its appearance so suddenly, that there was no time for recalling them. The Count de Grasse wished only to arrest the enemy by partial and distant collisions, long enough to cover the arrival of the Count de Barras.

With these opposite intentions the two admirals advanced the one against the other. The engagement soon became extremely warm between their vans: some ships of the centre also took part in it. The French, who were not willing that the action should become too general, drew off their vanguard, which had already suffered severely. The approach of night, and the nearness of hostile shores, dissuaded the British admiral from the resolution of renewing the engagement. His own van had likewise been very roughly treated. The ships most damaged were the Shrewsbury, the Montague, the Ajax, the Intrepid, and the Terrible. The latter was so shattered and torn, that the water gaining upon all the efforts of her pumps, she was burnt by order of admiral Graves. The English lost in this action in killed and wounded, three hundred and thirty-six sailors and marines: the French little more than two hundred.

The hostile fleets continued for four successive days, partly repairing their damages, and partly ma-

nœuvring in sight of each other; but the French having generally maintained the wind, and their motives for not engaging a general affair remaining always the same, the battle was not renewed. When at length the Count de Grasse had advice that the Count de Barras was entered sound and safe into the Chesapeake with his squadron and convoy, he retired from the open sea and came to anchor in the interior of the bay. Fortune showed herself in every thing adverse to the English. They had endeavoured to profit of the absence of the Count de Grasse to transmit despatches to Lord Cornwallis, by the frigates *Isis* and *Richmond*: they could not accomplish their mission, and both fell into the power of the French.

Admiral Graves, seeing the disastrous condition of his fleet, the sea becoming daily more tempestuous, and his hopes of intercepting the convoy of *M. de Barras* entirely foiled, had, a few days after, returned to New York. The French, becoming thus entirely masters of the bay, disembarked, in the first place, the artillery and munitions of war which they had brought from Rhode Island, and then employed the transports with the frigates and light vessels of the fleet, in conveying the army of Washington from Annapolis to the mouth of James river, and thence to Williamsburgh. At the head of Elk, the combined army had not been able to collect shipping enough for this passage.

Thus Cornwallis found himself restricted to the place he occupied. By an admirable concurrence of well-concerted operations, and of circumstances the most auspicious to his adversaries, his troops, still seven thousand strong, were surrounded on every

side. An army of twenty thousand combatants, of which only a fifth part were militia, invested Yorktown upon every point on the side of the land, while a fleet of near thirty sail of the line and a multitude of light vessels, stationed at the mouths of the rivers James and York, rendered the blockade of the place as complete as possible. The head-quarters of the combined army had been established at first in Williamsburgh, a city which is only a few miles distant from Yorktown. Care had been taken, however, to detach a considerable corps, consisting mostly of cavalry, under the conduct of M. de Choisy and general Wieden, to encamp on the left bank of the York, before the village of Gloucester, in order to prevent the English from issuing thence to forage. The French had taken post before Yorktown, on the left of the camp, extending from the river above the town to the morass in the centre, where they were met by the Americans, who occupied the right from the river to that spot.

General Clinton had it very much at heart to extricate Cornwallis; and in consequence, while admiral Graves was under sail for the Chesapeake, had meditated a diversion in Connecticut. He hoped by insulting that province, to draw thither a part of the American forces; knowing but too well that if they were left at liberty to push the siege of Yorktown, the blockaded army must inevitably surrender. The principal object of this expedition was to seize New London, a rich and flourishing town, situated upon the New Thames. The command of it was given to Arnold, who had just returned to New York from his inroad into Virginia.

The access of the port of New London was rendered difficult by two forts erected upon the opposite banks; one called Fort Trumbull, the other Griswold. The royalists having disembarked unexpectedly, at day break, carried the first without much effort; but the second made a vigorous resistance. Colonel Ladd had promptly thrown himself into it with a body of militia, and the work itself was very strong, consisting in a walled square with flanks. The royal troops nevertheless attacked with extreme vigour and gallantry; they were received with no less bravery and resolution. After a very heavy fire on both sides, the English, with the utmost difficulty and severe loss, effected a lodgment upon the fraizing, and at length made their way good with fixed bayonets, through the embrasures, notwithstanding the fierce defence made by the garrison, who now changing their weapons, fought desperately hand to hand with long spears. The assailants, when finally masters of the place, massacred as well those who surrendered as those who resisted. The town of New London itself was laid in ashes: it is not known whether by design or chance. A great number of vessels, richly laden, fell into the power of Arnold. This first success obtained, the English, seeing no movement made in their favour, and observing, on the contrary, the most menacing dispositions among the inhabitants, decided for retreat. It was signalized by the most horrible devastations. This expedition was on their part but a piratical inroad, absolutely without utility. In vain did they endeavour to make a great noise with their march, and their bloody executions in Connecticut, Washington scarcely deigned to notice it. Unshaken

in his prior designs, he knew perfectly that whoever should triumph at Yorktown would have decided the whole of this campaign in his favour. Instead, therefore, of sending troops into Connecticut, he drew them all into Virginia.

Of the two attempts made to succour Cornwallis, the naval battle, and the diversion against New London, neither had obtained its object. Clinton assembled all the principal officers of his army in council, in order to take their opinion upon the most prudent course to be pursued in the present circumstances. Admiral Digby had just arrived from Europe at New York, with three ships of the line, another ship of the same force and several frigates had also repaired thither from the West Indies. And although, notwithstanding these different re-enforcements, the British fleet was still inferior to that of France, yet the pressure of the peril, and the importance of the conjuncture, determined the British commanders to put to sea and hasten to the relief of the besieged army. They would have wished not to defer an instant the execution of their resolution; but the refitting of the ships damaged in the late engagement, constrained them to wait. They hoped, however, that nothing would detain them later than the fifth of October. This is what Clinton announced to Cornwallis in a despatch written in cyphers, which, notwithstanding the extreme vigilance of the besiegers, reached him the twenty-ninth of September. This letter made such an impression upon the mind of Cornwallis, that he abandoned all his out-posts and defences, and withdrew entirely within the works of the place. This resolution has been much censured

by experienced military men: and some even of the superior officers of the garrison, opposed it openly. Though the general-in-chief wrote that he had every reason to hope his re-enforcements would set sail from New York the fifth of October, should not Cornwallis have reflected that a multitude of unforeseen causes might derange this plan; in a word, that of all human enterprises, maritime expeditions are the most exposed to the accidents of fortune? All his cares, all his efforts, should therefore have tended to prolong his defence; and the outer-works afforded him the means for it. They were sufficiently strong, nothing had been neglected in that respect, and the troops were numerous enough to man them suitably. Is it possible, therefore, not to disapprove the determination taken by Cornwallis to crowd his army into a town, or rather, into an intrenched camp, the works of which were still imperfect? Except, perhaps, upon the declivity of the hill towards the river, the British troops were exposed on all sides to be raked by the artillery of the enemy.

It may be presumed that in contracting his defences, the British general flattered himself this apparent indication of fear would redouble the temerity of the French, and that by rushing immediately to the assault, they would place in his hands a certain and decisive victory. But Washington was as prudent as intrepid; and the French generals in those distant regions, showed themselves with reason extremely sparing of the blood of their soldiers. An unanimous sentiment, moreover, repulsed every measure that could render doubtful an enterprise having such fair pretensions to be considered as certain. It was there-

fore resolved to open trenches, and to carry on the siege in form, before attempting any attack with open force against the body of the place.

Yorktown, as we have already said, is situated upon the right bank of the river York. Its narrow circuit now comprised the definitive fate of all the war. The English had surrounded it with fortifications of different kinds. On the right, or upper part, they had walled it with a chain of redoubts, curtained one to another by a parapet and palisade. The redoubts were fraized and palisaded, and were covered besides by abattis and breast works. A morassy ravine extended along the front of these works. The besieged had erected upon it another large redoubt with palisades and ditch; this was the strongest side of the place. In front, that is in the centre of the circuit of the place, before which the morass became inundated, the defences consisted in a line of strong palisades, and in batteries which commanded the dikes over which it was necessary to cross the ravine. Upon the left flank of this front had been constructed a horn-work, in like manner defended by a ditch and palisade; and although not yet entirely completed, it was in such forwardness as already to have opened several embrasures. As to the left, or lower part, it was likewise fortified with redoubts and batteries interlinked by an earthen parapet. Two other smaller, and not yet finished redoubts, had been erected at a certain distance without towards the country, in order the more effectually to cover this side, against which it was presumed the principal attack would be directed. The adjacent ground was flat, or furrowed by ravines, and consequently favourable to the besiegers.

The space comprised within the fortifications was extremely circumscribed, and afforded no safety to the garrison. Upon the opposite side of the river, the village of Gloucester had been surrounded with earthen works, furnished with artillery where the position admitted; but these works were of little importance. The trenches were opened by the allied armies in the night between the sixth and seventh of October. Notwithstanding the violent fire of the besieged, they pushed their works with so much perseverance, that soon they had completed their first parallel, erected the batteries, and covered them with little less than an hundred pieces of heavy ordnance. The thickest walls could not have withstood the shock of so heavy a fire, much less those of Yorktown, which were not completed. So far were they from that state, that the British troops were not less employed in their construction under the fire of the enemy, than they were in their defence. In a few days, most of their guns were silenced, their defences in many places ruined, and the shells reached even the ships in the harbour, where the *Charon*, of forty-four guns, with some of the transports, were burnt. It was manifest that valour was impotent against so formidable means of attack, and consequently, that the defence could not be of long duration. The artillery of the Americans was commanded by general Knox, who in this siege as in all the other actions of the war, displayed the talents of a consummate engineer. He had formed his cannoniers with such success, that the French themselves were astonished at the precision of their *mœuvres*.

In the midst of so many perils, Cornwallis received a despatch from Clinton, which held out the hope that if the winds and unforeseen accidents did not prevent, the relief would sail from New York the twelfth of October. He reminded him, however, that a plan of this nature was subject to a thousand unlucky casualties; that he wished, therefore, to be informed if it was deemed possible to hold out till the middle of November: his intention, in the contrary case, being to march himself by way of the land, and to fall upon Philadelphia. He could not, doubtless, have undertaken a more efficacious diversion in favour of the besieged. Such were the formal promises of general Clinton to Lord Cornwallis. How, it may be asked, could the English have deceived themselves so grossly with respect to the time necessary for the reparation of their ships, that instead of departing from New York the fifth of October, as they had announced, they did not make sail until the nineteenth. This miscalculation seems difficult to be accounted for. It is certain only that the promise of succours and their unexpected delay, occasioned the loss of the army. In the firm expectation of being soon relieved, Cornwallis persisted in his defence, and thus abstained from resorting to the means of safety that were in his power. If it be just to acknowledge a motive of excuse for his conduct in the first letter, by which Clinton assured him that the fleet would set sail the fifth of October, it will still remain very difficult to justify the resolution to which he adhered, when he had been apprized by a second despatch, that the squadron could not put to sea until

the twelfth, a despatch which left room for doubts even with respect to that. Among the principal officers of the garrison commanded by Lord Cornwallis, there were not wanting those who advised him to evacuate a place so little susceptible of a long defence, and to transport his army suddenly to the left side of the river, where there was still left him a way to escape from the fate that menaced him. They urged him to withdraw in the night to Gloucester with the greater part of his army. This passage might be effected easily with the shipping that lay in the harbour. The superiority of force, and the surprise of an unexpected attack, precluded all doubt of their being able to disperse the corps of M. de Choisy, who invested Gloucester. The British army would thus find itself in that fertile country which is situated between the York and the Rappahanock. Not having yet been made the seat of war, it was sure to afford horses and provision in abundance. By forced marches it would be possible to gain an hundred miles upon the enemy, and to protect the retreat by a rear-guard of three thousand picked men, both infantry and cavalry. Once masters of the country beyond the York, they would be at liberty to march upon Philadelphia, and there join general Clinton, who would have repaired thither through New Jersey, or to bend their course towards the Carolinas, keeping the upper route, in order to pass the rivers above the points where they divide into several branches. Either of these ways offered some hope of safety, since Washington, for want of shipping, would not be able to cross the river soon enough to follow the British army; and not knowing the direction it would

have taken, he would be obliged to divide his troops into several detachments. And even in the supposition that he was apprized in time of their march, his pursuit would not be prompt enough to come up with them: since lodgings and subsistence for so numerous an army must necessarily fail him. "By remaining here," added the partisans of this opinion, "we devote ourselves to certain destruction: by opening ourselves a passage, we may yet find safety. We shall, in any event, have the consolation of thinking that so magnanimous an attempt will shed new lustre upon the arms of the king. If it is fated that so gallant an army cannot escape captivity, let this not be till after it has exerted its utmost force to avert it, and after having acquired an honoured name and bright fame among the brave!"

Lord Cornwallis, whatever might have been his motives, would never listen to these salutary counsels: he persisted in his determination to defend himself behind walls that were indefensible. Perhaps he persuaded himself that he could prolong his resistance until the arrival of relief, and thus escape the blame to which he exposed himself on the part of his sovereign, in hazarding his army by an attempt to retreat. Perhaps, also, the uncertainty of saving it by this resource, appeared to him as great as that of the arrival of succours. But whatever was the private opinion of the British general, it could have no influence upon that fatal issue which was rapidly approaching. The besiegers had already commenced the labours of the second parallel, and their activity seemed to increase every day. They were now but three hundred yards from the place. The English

endeavoured to arrest them by a deluge of bombs and balls. But the artillery of the 'first parallel kept up so heavy a fire, that the besieged, far from being able to interrupt the labours of the second, soon beheld all their batteries upon their left flank dismounted. This event was the more prejudicial to them, as it was against that very part that the Allies directed their principal attack. In order to complete their trenches, it remained for them to dislodge the English from the two advanced redoubts of which we have made mention above. Washington gave orders that they should be carried by assault. With a view of exciting emulation between the two nations, the attack on the redoubt upon the right was committed to the Americans, and of the other to the French. The American detachment was commanded by the Marquis de la Fayette and by colonel Hamilton, aid-de-camp of the commander-in-chief, a young man of the highest expectation. They were accompanied by colonel Laurens, son of the former president of Congress, who was at that time confined in the Tower of London. He was also a youth of the fairest hope, and would infallibly have furnished a brilliant career if an untimely death had not snatched him from his family, and from his country. The Baron de Viomesnil, the Count Charles de Damas, and the Count de Deux-Ponts, commanded the French. The commanders addressed their soldiers a short exhortation to inflame their courage: they represented that this last effort would bring them to the term of their glorious toils. The attack was extremely impetuous. On its success depended in a great measure that of the siege. Relying entirely

upon their bayonets, the Americans advanced with unloaded arms: they passed the abattis and palisades without waiting to remove them. The English, astonished at so much audacity, attempted in vain to put themselves upon defence. The humanity of the conquerors equalled their courage. They granted life to all those who demanded it, notwithstanding the cruelties recently committed at New London. Young Laurens gained great credit upon this occasion, and personally took the commanding officer prisoner. The loss was very moderate on both sides. The redoubt upon the left cost more efforts; but at length, the French chasseurs and grenadiers, animated by the example of their chiefs, carried it with the bayonet. This double conquest was no less useful to the Allies than it was honourable for their arms. Washington presented the two regiments of Gatinois and Deux-Ponts, who had contributed to it, with the two pieces of cannon which they had taken. The besieged made no attempt to recover the two redoubts. The besiegers hastened to include them in the second parallel, which before the next morning was entirely completed. The situation of the garrison was become so critical, that it could no longer hope for safety. Cornwallis foresaw perfectly that when the besiegers should have opened the fire of the batteries of their second parallel, all means of resistance would fail him. The greater part of his artillery was dismounted, broken, or otherwise disabled; the walls were crumbled into the ditches: in a word, almost all the defences were rased. Having lost the use of his heavy artillery, the British commander gave with difficulty some sign of

resistance by firing at intervals with his howitzers and small mortars.

In this state of things Cornwallis, in order to retard as much as was in his power the completion of the batteries upon the second parallel, resolved to reach them by a vigorous sortie. He did not flatter himself however that even by this expedient he should be able to extricate himself from the alarming position he was in, nor yet to protract his defence for any considerable space of time. He wrote to general Clinton that being exposed every moment to an assault in ruined works, and an almost open town, with a garrison weakened by sickness, the distress of Yorktown was such that he could not recommend to the fleet and army to run any great risk in endeavouring to save it.

Meanwhile, a detachment sallied from the place, on the night of the sixteenth of October, under the conduct of colonel Abercrombie. They deceived the enemy by answering as Americans; and, having penetrated to the second parallel, made themselves masters of two batteries, the one French, and the other American. The French who had the guard of that part of the intrenchment, suffered considerably. The English spiked eleven pieces of cannon, and would have done much more mischief, if the Viscount de Noailles had not charged them furiously, and driven them before him into the town. This sortie was not of the least advantage to the besieged. The cannon which were hastily spiked, were soon again rendered fit for service.

The fire of the place was entirely extinct. Scarcely did it throw from time to time a cohorn shell into the

camp of the besiegers; and this last source of defence was nearly expended. The garrison was sensibly enfeebled by disease; fatigue and discouragement overwhelmed even the soldiers who remained for service. All hope was vanished: an assault must prove irremediable. Straitened on all sides, Cornwallis was constrained to resort to new expedients. He had recourse to a measure which he ought to have embraced before it was too late; and that was to pass the river suddenly with his garrison, and to try fortune upon the opposite bank. He reflected that even if it was not in his power to escape the enemy entirely, he had at least the hope of retarding the moment of his surrender, and that, in any event, the Allies occupied in pursuing him would not so soon have it in their power to turn their thoughts and arms upon new enterprises. The boats are prepared; the troops embark; they leave behind the baggage, the sick and wounded, and a feeble detachment, in order to capitulate for the town's people, with a letter from Cornwallis to Washington, recommending to the generosity of the conqueror the persons not in a condition to be removed. Already a part of the troops is landed at Gloucester-Point; another embarks; the third division only is waited for: a perfect calm prevails in the air and upon the waters; every thing seemed to favour the design of the British commander. But all of a sudden, at that critical moment of hope, apprehension and danger, arose a violent storm of wind and rain, and all was lost. The boats were all driven down the river, and the army thus weakened and divided was involved in a state of the most imminent danger. The day began to appear. The

besiegers opened a tremendous fire from all their batteries; the bombs showered copiously even into the river. But the tempest, in the meantime had abated; the boats were able to return, and the English finding this last way of safety interdicted them by inexorable fortune, came back, not without new perils, to that shore where a certain death or an inevitable captivity awaited them. Again in Yorktown, Cornwallis being sensible that his position was now past all remedy, and preferring the life of his brave troops to the honour they might have acquired in a murderous and desperate assault, sent a flag to Washington, proposing a cessation of arms for twenty-four hours, and that commissioners might be appointed on both sides for settling the terms of capitulation. The American general was not disposed to grant so long a time, on account of the possible arrival of British succours. He answered that he could only grant a truce of two hours; and that during this interval he should expect the propositions of the British commander. Cornwallis was desirous that his troops might obtain the liberty of returning to their respective countries, the English to England, the Germans into Germany, upon giving their parole not to bear arms against France or America until exchanged. He demanded, besides, the regulation of the interests of those Americans, who having followed the British army, found themselves involved in its fate. Both of these conditions were alike refused; the first, because it was not intended to leave the king of England at liberty to employ his captive regiments in the home garrisons; the second, because it was a civil affair, and not within the competence of the military commanders. As to this last

article, Cornwallis prosecuted the negotiation of it with so much ardour, that he at length obtained permission to despatch the sloop Bonetta to New York, with the privilege of passing without search or visit, he being only answerable that the number of persons she conveyed should be accounted for as prisoners of war upon exchange. After various discussions, the two hostile generals having agreed upon the terms of capitulation, the commissioners charged with drawing it up convened in a habitation near the river, called Moore's-House: they were, on the part of the English, the colonels Dundas and Ross; on the part of the Allies, the Viscount de Noailles and colonel Laurens. The posts of York and Gloucester were surrendered on the nineteenth of October. The land-forces became prisoners to America, and the seamen to France. The officers retained their arms and baggage. The soldiers were to be kept together as much as possible in regiments, and to be cantoned in Virginia, Maryland and Pennsylvania; a part of the officers engaged to accompany the corps into the interior of the country: the others were at liberty to go upon parole either to England or New York. The Bonetta, on her return from that city, was to be delivered to the Count de Grasse. All the shipping and naval munitions were put into the hands of the French. The British flotilla consisted of two frigates, the Guadaloupe and Fowey, besides about twenty transports; twenty others had been burnt during the siege. The Americans had for their portion the field artillery. They found in Yorktown and Gloucester an hundred and sixty pieces of cannon, the greater part brass, and eight mortars. The number of prisoners, exclusive

of seamen, amounted to upwards of seven thousand. Out of this number, more than two thousand were wounded or sick. The besieged had about five hundred and fifty slain; but they lost no officer of note except major Cochrane. On the side of the besiegers, about four hundred and fifty were killed or wounded.

When the garrison had deposited their arms, they were conducted to the places of their destination. The talents and bravery displayed in this siege by the Allies, won them an immortal glory; and they still enhanced it by the humanity and generosity with which they treated their prisoners. The French officers, in particular, honoured themselves by the most delicate behaviour. They seemed to have no other cares but that of consoling the vanquished by every mark of the most sympathizing interest. Not content with professions, they made the English the most pressing offers of money, both public and private. Lord Cornwallis in his public letters acknowledged in warm terms the magnanimity of this conduct.

The fate of Yorktown and its defenders was thus regulated, when, the twenty-fourth of October, the British fleet, consisting of twenty-five sail of the line, with two of fifty guns and several frigates, appeared at the entrance of the Chesapeak. It had made sail from New York the nineteenth, the day of the capitulation; it brought a corps of seven thousand men to the succour of Cornwallis. Upon positive intelligence of the catastrophe of Yorktown, the British commanders, struck with grief and consternation, re-conducted their forces to New York.

At the news of so glorious, so important a victory, transports of exultation broke out from one extremity of America to the other. The remembrance of past evils gave place, in all minds, to the most brilliant hopes. Nobody dared longer to doubt of independence. If the victory of Saratoga had produced the alliance with France, that of Yorktown was to have the effect of establishing on an unshaken basis, the liberty of the American people. If the one had been the cause of the successes of the war, the other was about to create the blessings of an honourable peace. In all parts of the United States, solemn festivals and rejoicings celebrated the triumph of American fortune, and the downfall of that of the enemy. The names of Washington, of Rochambeau, De Grasse, La Fayette, resounded everywhere. To the unanimous acclaim of the people, the Congress joined the authority of its decrees. It addressed thanks to the generals as well as to the officers and soldiers of the victorious army. It ordained that there should be erected at Yorktown of Virginia, a marble column, adorned with emblems of the alliance between the United States and the King of France, and inscribed with a succinct narrative of the surrender of Earl Cornwallis. It decreed, that Washington should be presented with two stands of British colours; the Count de Rochambeau with two pieces of cannon, and that his most christian majesty should be requested to permit the Count de Grasse to accept a like present. The Congress repaired in body to the principal church of Philadelphia, to render their joyful thanksgivings to the most high God for the recent victory. By a special decree, the thir-

teenth of December was appointed to be observed as a day of prayer and acknowledgement for so signal an evidence of the divine protection.

The demonstrations of public gratitude towards the captain-general, were not confined to these honours. The provincial assemblies, the universities, the literary societies, addressed him the sincere homage of their felicitations and admiration. He answered with exemplary modesty, that he had done no more than what his duty required of him; he was eloquent in extolling the valour of the army, and the efficacious assistance of an ally no less generous than powerful.

Washington would have wished so to profit of the conjuncture as to expel the British entirely from the American continent. He meditated in particular the recovery of Charleston. His design might have been put in execution, if the Count de Grasse had been at liberty to remain longer upon the American coasts; but the express orders of his government recalled him to the West Indies. He made sail for those islands, the fifth of November, taking with him the corps which had served under the Marquis de St. Simon. The troops which had reduced Yorktown were marched in part upon the banks of the Hudson, to watch the motions of Clinton, who had still a great force at New York. The rest were sent to the Carolinas, to re-enforce general Greene, and confirm the authority of Congress in those provinces. The English totally evacuated the open country, and withdrew behind the walls of Charleston and Savannah. The Marquis de la Fayette embarked about the same time for Europe, bearing with him the affection and the regrets of the Americans. The Congress, whilst testifying

their high satisfaction with his services, prayed him to advocate the interests of the United States with the French ministry, and to recommend them especially to the benevolence of his most christian majesty. Washington repaired to Philadelphia, where he had frequent conferences with the Congress upon military operations, and the business of the state. Thanks to his cares and activity, the service of the war department was secured for the following year much earlier than it had ever been before.

Such was the end of the campaign of Virginia, which was well nigh being that of all the American war. The disaster of Yorktown so prostrated the British power upon that continent, that thenceforth the English, utterly despairing of being able to re-establish it, abandoned all idea of acting offensively; and thought only of defending themselves. With the exception of strong places, or countries accessible to their powerful navy, such as the province of New York, the contiguous islands, and the cities of Charleston and Savannah, all the territory was recovered into the power of Congress. Thus by a sudden reverse of fortune, the victors became vanquished; thus those who in the course of a cruel war had learned from their enemies themselves how to wage it, made such proficiency in the art as in their turn to give lessons to their masters.

The arms of England were not more fortunate in the West Indies than they had been upon the American continent. The Marquis de Bouille was informed that the governor of St. Eustatius relying upon the strength of the island, or upon the absence of the fleet of the Count de Grasse, kept a very negli-

gent guard. Without loss of time, he embarked, at Martinico, twelve hundred regular troops with some militia in three frigates, one corvette and four smaller armed vessels. He sailed immediately for St. Eustatius. To confirm the enemy in that profound security to which he abandoned himself, he gave out that he was going to meet the French armament on its return from America. He appeared in sight of the island the twenty-fifth of November. But formidable obstacles awaited him there; an unusually rough sea not only prevented him from landing all his troops, but even rendered it impracticable for the frigates to approach the shore, and the boats were dashed in pieces against the rocks. The activity of the Marquis de Bouille enabled him, after unprecedented efforts, to put ashore four hundred soldiers of the Irish legion with the chasseurs of two French regiments. This detachment, separated from the rest of the troops by the fury of the sea, was exposed to the most imminent danger; it was about to encounter a garrison consisting of seven hundred veteran soldiers. But the Marquis de Bouille, with the presence of mind that characterized him, immediately took the only determination that could lead him to success; and that was to push rapidly forward and seize by surprise what he was in no condition to carry by force. He appeared unexpectedly under the walls of the fortress: such was his celerity, and such the negligence of the enemy, that he found a part of the garrison exercising in full security upon the esplanade. The day had but just commenced. The rest of the soldiers were dispersed in the barracks and houses. Deceived by the red coats of the Irish,

the garrison took them at first for English: they were first made sensible of their error by a discharge of musketry, at half portice, which killed several and wounded a greater number. They were thrown into confusion: governor Cockburne, who returned at this moment from a promenade on horse-back, came up on hearing the strange noise, and was made prisoner. Meanwhile, the French chasseurs had pushed rapidly behind the English and had already reached the gate of the fortress. The English rushed into it tumultuously and attempted to raise the drawbridge: but the French, still more prompt, threw themselves in pell-mell with them. Surprised upon all points, and unable to rally, the garrison laid down arms and surrendered. Thus the island of St. Eustatius fell into the power of the French. The booty they made was immense: twenty pieces of cannon were the fruit of victory. A million of livres which had been put in sequestration by the English, was forthwith restored by the generous victor to the Dutch, from whom it had been wrested. Governor Cockburne claimed a sum of two hundred and sixty-four thousand livres as belonging to him personally: it was assigned him with the same liberality. But the Marquis de Bouille thought he had right to distribute among his troops sixteen hundred thousand livres appertaining to admiral Rodney, General Vaughan and other British officers: as being the produce of the sales they had made at St. Eustatius. Thus M. de la Motte-Piquet, at first, then the Marquis de Bouille stripped the plunderers of this island of the riches they had amassed in it; they had scarcely any thing left of all their spoils. The neighbouring isl-

ands of Saba and St. Martin came likewise the next day into the power of the French.

1782. In the commencement of the following month of February, a squadron of seven light vessels armed for war, under the command of the Count de Kersaint, recovered to Holland the colonies of Demerary, Issiquebo and Berbice: so that all the conquests of admiral Rodney, on which the British nation had founded the most brilliant hopes of mercantile advantage, were wrested from it with as much promptitude and facility as they had been made. As to France, the preservation of the Cape of Good Hope, and the retaking of the Dutch colonies in America, acquired her the reputation of a faithful and disinterested ally, and thus considerably increased the number of her partisans in Holland. After the conquest of St. Eustatius, the return of the Count de Grasse decided the French to follow up their victories. Their superiority both in land and naval forces, authorized them, in effect, to entertain hopes of the most important successes. They directed their views at first towards the opulent island of Barbadoes. Its position, to windward of all the others, renders it very proper for securing the domination of them. Twice they embarked upon this expedition with all the means fitted to ensure its success, and twice they were driven back by contrary winds. It was necessary that the efforts of human valour should yield to the power of the elements. The French commanders then determined to attack the island of St. Christopher's, situated to leeward of Martinico. The Count de Grasse arrived there the eleventh of January, with thirty-two sail of the line, and six

thousand men, under the Marquis de Bouille. The fleet anchored in the road of Basse-Terre, and the troops were disembarked. The inhabitants of the island were discontented with the British government; they had always condemned the American war, and they considered themselves, besides, aggrieved by certain acts of parliament. Their indignation was extreme, moreover, that the merchandise which they deposited in the warehouses of St. Eustatius, had been so shamefully pillaged by Rodney and Vaughan. Consequently, instead of taking arms against the French, they remained tranquil spectators of events.

The British retired from Basse-Terre upon Brimstone-Hill. Their force consisted of seven hundred regulars, who were afterwards joined by about three hundred militia. The governor of the island was general Frazer, a very aged officer. The militia were commanded by general Shirley, governor of Antigua. Brimstone-Hill is a steep and almost inaccessible rock. It rises upon the sea-shore, not far from the little town of Sandy-Hill, which is considered the second of the island, and situated about ten miles from Basse-Terre, which is the capital. The fortifications constructed upon the summit of Brimstone-Hill, were by no means correspondent to its natural strength. They were, besides, too extensive to be susceptible of an efficient defence by so feeble a garrison. No sooner were the French disembarked, than they marched in four columns to invest the hill on all its faces at once. As the artillery of the place incommoded them exceedingly, they found themselves necessitated to proceed with much regu-

larity and caution. They opened trenches, and covered themselves by breastworks. They were almost entirely destitute of heavy artillery, the ship that bore it having foundered near Sandy-Point. Their industry and patience, however, succeeded in recovering from the bottom of the sea the greater part of the pieces. They hastened also to procure them from the neighbouring islands. They likewise made themselves masters of some heavy cannon at the foot of the mountain, which had been sent from England a long time before, and which through the negligence of the governor had not been carried into the fortress. Independent of this artillery, a considerable quantity of bombs and cannon-ball fell into the power of the French. Thus the arms and ammunition sent by the British government for the defence of the island, were left to be employed for its reduction. The late surprise of St. Eustatius ought, however, to have put the commandant of St. Christopher's upon the alert.

The French, thus finding themselves provided with the apparatus necessary for their operations, established themselves upon the most commanding of the neighbouring heights, and began to batter the fortress. The garrison defended themselves valiantly, and with more effect than could have been expected from their small number.

In the meantime, admiral Hood returned from the coasts of America to Carlisle-Bay, in the island of Barbadoes, with twenty-two sail of the line. Upon intelligence of the peril of St. Christopher's, notwithstanding the great inferiority of his force to that of the Count de Grasse, he put to sea again immediate-

ly for the relief of the island attacked. He first touched at Antigua to take on board general Prescott with a corps of about two thousand men, and then sailed without delay for the road of Basse-Terre, in St. Christopher's. At the unexpected appearance of the British fleet, the Count de Grasse instantly took his resolution: he weighed anchor, and sailed forthwith to meet the enemy. His intention, in standing out of the harbour, was to put himself in condition to take advantage of the superiority of his force, and to prevent Hood from anchoring off Sandy-Point, whence he might easily have thrown succours into the fort on Brimstone-Hill. The British admiral, who observed the movements of his adversary, made a feint of intending to await the battle; then, all at once fell back, in order to draw the Count de Grasse more and more distant from the fort. As soon as he had effected this object, availing himself of the swiftness of his ships and the advantage of wind, he stood into the bay of Basse-Terre and came to anchor in the same spot whence the French admiral had departed. This able manœuvre was admired by the French themselves. They followed, however, and with their van engaged that of the English, but to little effect. The Count de Grasse afterwards presented himself with all his fleet at the entrance of the bay. The attack was extremely vigorous; but the British ships, lying fast at anchor in a line across the mouth of the harbour, afforded no assailable point. The French were unable to make the least effective impression, and lost not a few men in the attempt. It was followed, however, by a second, which had no better success. The Count de Grasse then renounc-

ed open force, and contented himself with cruising near enough to block up the British fleet in the bay, and protect the convoys of munitions which were on the way to him from Martinico and Guadaloupe.

Admiral Hood, on finding that the French had given up all thoughts of disturbing him in his anchorage, put ashore general Prescott, with a corps of thirteen hundred men: that general having driven in a French post stationed in that part, encamped in a strong position upon the heights. He hoped to find some favourable occasion to succour the fortress. The strength of the place seemed to promise him that general Frazer would be able to hold out still for a long time. Admiral Hood, moreover, had received positive advice, that Rodney was not far off, and that he had brought from Europe a re-enforcement of twelve sail of the line. It appeared to him impossible that after the junction of all the British forces, the Count de Grasse, and still less the Marquis de Bouille, should be able to keep the field.

The capture of all the French troops then on shore was in his opinion an infallible event. But, in spite of all calculations, already the Marquis de Bouille having marched two thousand men against general Prescott, had compelled him to evacuate the island and re-embark precipitately. On the other hand, the French artillery kept up so terrible a fire against Brimstone-Hill, that a number of breaches began to open in the walls, one of them in the part fronting the French camp was already practicable. A general assault would inevitably carry the place. The governor did not think proper to await this terrible extremity. All hope being now extinct, he demanded to capitulate.

late. The conditions granted him were honorable for the soldiers, and advantageous for the inhabitants of the island. In consideration of their gallant defence, the generals Frazer and Shirley were left in perfect liberty upon their parole. The surrender of Brimstone-Hill, placed the whole island of St. Christopher's in the power of the French. Admiral Hood, therefore, had no longer a motive for maintaining his anchorage in the bay of Basse-Terre; and moreover his fleet was in some degree exposed there to the fire of the batteries which the French might have established upon the shore. Nor could he overlook the importance of effecting his junction with admiral Rodney, who was daily expected, and who perhaps was already arrived at Barbadoes. Retreat, however, was perilous in the presence of so formidable a force as the French fleet. But the conjuncture admitted of no hesitation. Accordingly, in the night that followed the capitulation, the French being four leagues off, the English cut their cables in order to get under way at the same time, and thus keep their ships more collected and together. This manœuvre succeeded perfectly; they gained Barbadoes without opposition. Great was their joy at meeting Rodney in that island, who had just arrived there with twelve sail of the line. The Count de Grasse incurred on this head, the most violent reproaches of negligence and excessive circumspection. It was maintained that he should have closely blockaded the British fleet in its anchorage, or attacked it at its departure, or else pursued it in its retreat. His partisans defended him, by alleging that he experienced an extreme scarcity of provisions; that his ships were by no means so good sailors as those

of the enemy, and finally, that he was under an absolute necessity of returning promptly to Martinico in order to cover the arrival of convoys which were expected there from Europe. However these things might be, it remains demonstrated that the junction of the two British admirals, produced in the issue, an incalculable prejudice to the interests of France: as the sequel of this history will sufficiently evince. About the same time, the island of Montserrat surrendered to the arms of the Counts de Barras and de Flechin. A few days after, the Count de Grasse came to anchor at Martinico.

We have just seen the fortune of Great Britain depressed alike upon the American continent, and in the West Indies. The arms of king George were not more successful in Europe than in the New World. His enemies had there also the gratification of witnessing the declension of his power. It was especially agreeable to Spain, who first gathered its fruits. The Duke de Crillon, knowing with what ardour the Catholic king desired to have in his power the island of Minorca, applied himself with the utmost zeal to the siege of Fort St. Philip. All the resources of the art of war had been employed to reduce it; a more formidable artillery had never been levelled against a place. But its natural strength, the immense works which covered it, and the perseverance of the besieged, creating apprehensions that the defence might be protracted still for a long time; the Spanish general had recourse to an expedient too little worthy of him. He attempted to seduce governor Murray, and to obtain by corruption what he despaired of carrying by force. He had, it is true,

for this degrading step, the positive instructions of his government. General Murray repulsed the offers of his adversary with as much dignity as disdain. He reminded the Duke de Crillon, that when one of his valiant ancestors had been requested by his king to assassinate the Duke de Guise, he had made him the answer that his descendant should also have made to those who had presumed to commission him to attempt the honour of a man sprung from a blood as illustrious as his own, or that of the Guises. He ended his letter with praying him to cease to write or offer parley, his resolution being to communicate with him no more, except at the point of the sword.*

The Duke de Crillon gave general Murray to understand, that he could not but honour him for his conduct; that he rejoiced it had placed them both in that position which befitted them alike; and that it had greatly increased the high esteem in which he had always held the governor. Meanwhile, the situation of the besieged was become painful in the extreme. Notwithstanding the success of a vigorous sortie, in

* Henry III. despairing of being able to reduce the Duke of Guise, consulted the Mareschals D'Aumont, de Rambouillet and de Beauvais-Nangis, who decided that considering the impossibility of bringing that illustrious rebel to trial, it was necessary to take him off by surprise. The king proposed to the celebrated Crillon to undertake the execution of this murder; "I will not assassinate him, answered *the bravest of the brave*, but I will fight him. When a man is ready to give his life, he is master of that of another."

The affectation of general Murray in vaunting in his answer the nobility of his origin, grew out of his pretending to have descended from the Earl of Murray, natural son of James V. and brother of Mary Stuart.

which they had dislodged the Duke de Crillon from Cape Mola, where he had established his head-quarters, their weakness rendered this transitory triumph more hurtful to them than beneficial. The garrison would by no means have sufficed for the defence of so extensive fortifications, even if they had been free from sickness. But very far from that was their condition. The seeds of the scurvy, with which they were infected even before the opening of the siege, had developed themselves with a fury which increased from day to day. All who were seized with it either died, or became totally useless for the defence of the place. The causes of this mortal disease were principally the scarcity, or rather absolute want, of vegetables, the amassment of soldiers in the casemates, the horrible fœtor which resulted from it, and the excessive fatigues of a service almost without remission. To the scurvy, as if not sufficient of itself to exterminate the unhappy garrison, putrid fevers and the dysentery united their destructive rage. Overwhelmed by so many evils, these intrepid warriors piqued themselves upon braving them. Those who were already attacked with pestilential maladies, dissembled their sufferings for fear of not being admitted to share the perils of their comrades. Their ardour had survived their bodily strength; some of them were seen to expire under arms.

Nature at length triumphed over the firmness of these generous spirits. In the beginning of February, the garrison found itself so diminished, that there remained only six hundred and sixty men capable of any sort of service; and, even of this number, the most part were tainted with the scurvy. It was

to be feared lest the enemy, apprized of this disastrous state of things, might precipitate his attacks, and carry the place by storm. There was the more foundation for such an apprehension, as the artillery had already ruined the greater part of the upper defences. Scarcely did there remain a few pieces of cannon in a serviceable state, and the fire of the enemy was still unremitting.

In a situation so utterly hopeless, to resist any longer would have been rather the delirium of a senseless obstinacy than the effect of a generous constancy. Murray accepted a capitulation, the tenor of which was honourable for his garrison. He was allowed all the honours of war: the British troops were to be sent to England as prisoners upon parole; all the foreigners had permission to return to their countries with their effects; the Minorcans who had adhered to the British party, were left at liberty to remain in the island in the undisturbed enjoyment of their possessions. When the remains of this valiant garrison evacuated fort St. Philip, they had more the appearance of spectres than of men.

They marched through the French and Spanish armies, which were drawn up fronting each other, and formed a lane for their passage. They consisted of no more than six hundred old decrepid soldiers, one hundred and twenty of the royal artillery, two hundred seamen, and about fifty Corsicans, Greeks, Turks and Moors. The victors manifested compassion for the fate of their prisoners; they could not refuse them even a tribute of admiration, when, arrived at the place where they laid down their arms, they heard them declare, while lifting up to heaven their

eyes bathed in tears, that they had surrendered them to God alone. The humanity of the French and Spaniards was highly conspicuous, and worthy of lasting praise. Yielding to the most generous emotions, the common soldiers of the two nations were forward to administer refreshments and consolations to their unfortunate enemies. The Duke and Count de Crillon, as well as the Baron de Falkenhayn, commander of the French troops, signalized themselves by the most feeling and delicate attentions. Such actions and conduct cast abroad a pleasing shade, which serves to soften the horrors of war, and to hide and alleviate its calamities: should they not also mitigate the fury of national rivalships and animosities?

Thus did the island of Minorca return to the dominion of Spain, after it had been in the possession of Great Britain for upwards of seventy years.

The news of so many and so grievous disasters, and especially that of Yorktown, produced in England a general consternation, accompanied by an earnest desire of a new order of things. The length of the war was already become wearisome to all; the enormous expenses it had occasioned, and which it still exacted, were viewed with disquietude and alarm. The late reverses still increased this universal discontent: and with the diminution of the hope of victory was strengthened in all the impatience for the return of peace. The possibility of resuming the offensive upon the American continent, and of re-establishing there, by dint of arms, the sovereignty of Great Britain, was now considered as a chimera. The secret machinations in order to divide the people of

America, the terror and barbarity of the Indians, the attempts of treason, the destruction of commerce, the falsification of bills of credit, odious means to which the British ministers had resorted, and even the victories of their generals, all had failed of wresting from the Americans the smallest indication of a disposition to resume their ancient yoke. If such had been their constancy, when their ship, battered by the tempests, seemed hastening to the bottom, how could it be hoped to see them bend, while the most propitious gales were conducting them into the wished-for port? It was self-evident that henceforth the war of America could have no other object but that of obtaining the most honourable conditions possible, after having acknowledged independence. On the other hand, the immense losses sustained in the West Indies, gave occasion to fear lest they might be followed by others, still more afflicting. The most anxious apprehensions were entertained for Jamaica, against which the house of Bourbon seemed ready to display the entire apparatus of its power. The fall of a place of such importance as Fort St. Philip and the loss of the whole island of Minorca, inspired doubts for Gibraltar itself.

The people, always the same everywhere, imputed these disasters, not to the contrariety of fortune, but to the incapacity of ministers. Their adversaries, both within parliament and without, raised the most violent clamours. They exclaimed that such were the foreseen results of ministerial infatuation and obstinacy. They demanded with vociferation the immediate dismissal of these perverse and imbecile servants of the crown: they affirmed that it was urgent

to prevent those who had brought the country to the brink of a precipice, from plunging it headlong down it by the last frantic shock: that there was no chance of safety but in removing instantly those senseless instigators of a fatal war. These cries of hatred coincided with the prevailing spirit; they were echoed with unanimity by the discontented multitude. Besides, it escaped no one that since the course of things had created the necessity of entering into negotiation with the Americans, and of acknowledging their independence, it was not suitable that those who had at first so highly exasperated them by their laws, and afterwards had imbittered them to the utmost by a barbarous war, should undertake to treat with them. The work of a durable pacification appeared little proper to be confided to hands which had fanned the fire of war. Already general Conway, by a very eloquent speech, pronounced the twenty-second of February, in the house of commons, had moved and obtained that his majesty should be entreated to command his ministers not to persist any longer in the attempt to reduce the colonies to obedience by means of force, and by continuing the war upon the American continent. He did more: in the sitting of the fourth of March, he proposed and carried a resolution purporting that those who should advise the king to continue the war upon the continent of North America, should be declared enemies of the sovereign and of the country. From this moment, the leading members of the privy council, the centre and source of all great deliberations, perceived that it was full time to resort to the usual remedy of a change of ministry. The general attention was excited to the highest degree.

At length, the twentieth of March, the Earl of Surrey having moved in the house of commons that the king should be supplicated to change his ministers, Lord North rose and declared with dignity that it was superfluous to spend any more time upon this subject, since it had already occupied the attention of his majesty, who would shortly make known his new choice. "Before I take leave of this house," added Lord North, "I feel it a duty to return it thanks for the support and favour it has afforded me during so long a course of years, and in so many trying situations. It will be easy to give me a successor, endowed with a greater capacity, of better judgment, and more qualified for his situation, but it will not be equally so to find a man more zealous for the interests of the country, more loyal to the sovereign, and more attached to the constitution. I hope the new servants of the crown, whoever they may be, will take such measures as shall effectually extricate the country from its present difficulties, and retrieve its fortune at home and abroad. I should declare, in retiring, that I am ready to answer to my country for all the acts of my administration. If it is wished to undertake the investigation of my conduct, I offer myself to undergo it."

The new ministers were selected from among those members of the two houses of parliament, who had shown themselves the most favourable to the pretensions of the Americans. The Marquis of Rockingham was appointed first lord of the treasury: the Earl of Shelburne and Mr. Fox secretaries of state: Lord John Cavendish chancellor of the exchequer. Admiral Keppel was at the same time created viscount and first lord of the admiralty. So great

was the exultation caused by this event, particularly in the city of London, that it was feared the people of that capital, would, according to their custom, break out into some blameable excesses. Every body felt assured that the end of the war was at hand, and that of all the calamities it had caused. All that was desired was, that the conditions of peace might be honourable. Accordingly, the partisans of the new ministers were earnest in their prayers that some favourable event might gloriously repair the checks which the British arms had received towards the close of the past, and in the commencement of the present year.

END OF BOOK THIRTEENTH.

BOOK FOURTEENTH.

1782.

THE belligerent powers, in order to execute the plans they had formed in the beginning of the present year, only waited the completion of their preparations, the return of spring, and the fitness of occasion. Alike weary of a long war, all had the same persuasion that this campaign was to be decisive. Nor were they ignorant that it is at the moment of peace that reverses have the most fatal consequences, as there no longer remains either time or hope for retrieving them. Under these considerations, each of the powers at war redoubled vigilance and efforts, in order to secure the definitive triumph of its arms. The allied courts directed their views especially upon the domination of the European seas, the reduction of Gibraltar, and the conquest of Jamaica. The French were in the highest degree solicitous to transmit succours to their establishments in the East Indies, where, notwithstanding the valour and distinguished ability displayed by M. de Suffren, in several hard-fought engagements with admiral Hughes, their affairs were in a state of declension; and already two Dutch places of great importance, Trincomale and Negapatam, were fallen into the power of the English. The attention of the allies had therefore two principal objects: to defend their own possessions, and, to seize those of the enemy.

It was agreed that the Dutch and Spanish fleets should effect their junction with the French in the port of Brest. This mighty armada was afterwards to scour the open sea and clear it of all hostile force from the strait of Gibraltar to the coasts of Norway. It was intended that the ships of the line should blockade the squadrons of the enemy in all the channels and ports, while the frigates and other light vessels should intercept the convoys; and utterly ruin the commerce of the English. The views of the Allies extended yet farther; they hoped by incessantly spreading new alarms upon the coasts of Great Britain, that some opportunity might present itself for making descents, ravaging the country, and even for striking still more important blows, according to circumstances. They proceeded with the greatest zeal to the execution of their designs: the junction of their armaments was to present a powerful mass of sixty sail of the line, besides a prodigious number of frigates and sloops of war. The English were very far from possessing means sufficient to withstand so formidable a display of forces. Accordingly, the allied courts entertained not the least doubt but that their arms would be as successful in the West Indies and Europe, in this year's campaign, as they had been in the last upon the American continent. A glorious peace must, they felt assured, inevitably result from these decisive successes.

On the other hand, the new members of the British cabinet neglected nothing that could tend to remedy the calamitous state of affairs, and enable them to resist with effect the storm that rumbled over their heads. They hoped to compensate the inequali-

ty of force by the skill of commanders, the courage of troops, and the success of projected expeditions. Their cares were directed to the equipment of the fleet and the lading of the convoy destined to revictual Gibraltar. After the security of the kingdom, there was nothing which they had so much at heart as the safety of that place. But they were sensible that, first of all, it was necessary to prevent the junction of the Spanish and Dutch squadrons with the French fleet: thus interrupting also, at the same time, the commerce of the Dutch in the Baltic, and protecting that of England against their insults.

Admiral Howe was therefore ordered to put to sea from Portsmouth with twelve sail of the line, and to establish his cruise upon the coasts of Holland. This measure had the desired effect. The Dutch squadron, which had already set sail from the Texel, abandoned the sea to the English, and made the best of its way back into port. After having cruised off the Dutch coasts for the term of a month, admiral Howe, finding that the enemy made no movement demonstrative of a disposition to put to sea again, and the unhealthiness of the season having occasioned much sickness on board his fleet, took the determination to return to Portsmouth. Admiral Milbanke relieved him almost immediately. If he was not able to annoy the Dutch trade in the Baltic, he at least effectually protected that of the English: and, moreover, he constantly interdicted to the enemy's squadron the entrance of the Channel. Thus, with the exception of the brilliant action of Doggers-Bank, the republic of Holland, formerly so famous, did nothing in all this war that was worthy of her, and of her an-

cient renown. Such was the decay of her glory and of her power, the deplorable result of excessive riches, of insatiable avidity, and perhaps still more, of the party spirit which rent those provinces. If in a republic the counterpoise of parties, in matters relating to internal administration, may sometimes turn to the advantage of liberty, and maintain more energy in the people, those factions which have foreign powers for object, produce an entirely opposite effect. They divert the public spirit upon that which is abroad, and paralyze all its activity at home. The most evident symptom of the decay of the strength of a state, and of the loss of its independence, is, doubtless, a division between citizens in favour of foreigners; and such was the situation of the Dutch at this epoch. If at the conclusion of the present war, their republic was not reduced to the last degree of depression, if it even repaired a great part of its losses, this it owed, not to its own force, but entirely to the arms and protection of France.

We resume the course of events: undoubted intelligence had been received in England that a considerable convoy of troops and military stores destined for India, was on the point of sailing from the port of Brest. Fearing, on the one hand, for Jamaica, and on the other, for the establishments of the coast of Malabar, the ministers, without any delay, despatched admiral Barrington, at the head of twelve sail of the line, with orders to watch this convoy, and to capture it, if the opportunity should offer itself. He shaped his course for the Bay of Biscay, and soon discovered the convoy, which consisted of eighteen transports, under the guard of two ships of the line,

the Pegase and the Protecteur. The wind was violent and the sea tempestuous. The English nevertheless continued to crowd sail. The ship Foudroyant, an excellent sailor, commanded by captain Jarvis, at length came up with and engaged the Pegase, under the Chevalier de Sillan. The forces of the two ships being about equal, the action lasted with extreme violence for a full hour. The Frenchman did not strike till after having seen the greater part of his men either killed or disabled. The sea was so rough that captain Jarvis was scarcely able to shift a small part of the crew of the prize. It was to be feared that the small number of men he sent aboard of it might be risen upon, and the ship rescued. But captain Maitland, who commanded the Queen, came up at this moment and assisted his companion to secure his prize. Immediately after they were again separated by a gust of wind. Captain Maitland afterwards fell in with another French ship called the Actionnaire, and captured her, after a feeble resistance. In the meantime the frigates had given chase to the transports, which, at the first appearance of the English, had obeyed a signal for dispersing with all celerity. Twelve fell into the power of the enemy. This was a sensible loss to France: for independent of the artillery, munitions of war, and provision, there were on board these vessels upwards of eleven hundred regular troops. Admiral Barrington brought his prizes safely into the ports of England.

The British admiralty having realized the utility of cruises in the seas of Europe, resolved to multiply them. It adopted this determination the more wil-

lingly, as it had not yet received any intimation of the approaching appearance of the grand combined fleet. Notwithstanding the ardent desire which animated alike the French and the Spaniards to depress the power of their implacable enemy, their operations suffered too often from that slowness which seems inseparable from all coalitions. The English, on the contrary, enjoyed the advantages attached to the unity of powers, and to the concert of movements. As soon as Barrington was returned, Kempenfeldt had orders to put to sea, and stand in like manner towards the Bay of Biscay. His instructions were to do the French commerce all the harm possible, to protect that of the British, and especially to cover the arrival of two rich convoys shortly expected, the one from Jamaica, the other from Canada.

After having wasted much precious time, the Allies had set themselves at length to carry into effect the plans they had meditated. The Count de Guichen commanding the French squadron, and Don Lewis de Cordova admiral in chief of the combined fleet, set sail from the port of Cadiz in the beginning of June with twenty-five sail of the line, between Spanish and French. They stood to the north, towards the shores of England, animated with a desire and with a hope to wrest from those audacious islanders the empire of the ocean. As they sailed along the coasts of France, they were joined by several ships of war, which lay in the ports of that part, and even by a squadron that came from Brest to meet them. These different re-enforcements carried the combined fleet to forty sail of the line. Fortune smiled upon these first operations. The two convoys of Newfoundland

and Quebec, escorted by admiral Campbell with one ship of fifty guns and some frigates, fell into the midst of this immense line. A part were taken, the rest dispersed. Eighteen transports came into the power of the victors: this capture was valued at considerable sums. The ships of war made good their escape, and gained the ports of England in safety. This advantage indemnified the French, in some measure, for the loss of their convoy destined to the East Indies.

After this, if not difficult, at least useful success, become entirely masters of the sea, they repaired towards the entrance of the channel. As they had done in their preceding campaigns, they stretched their line across it from the Scilly islands to that of Ushant. While observing the coasts of England, two objects especially occupied their attention: the protection of their own convoys, and the seizure of those of the enemy. Meanwhile, the British ministers were not reckless of the danger. Admiral Howe put to sea with twenty-two sail of the line. His instructions enjoined him to avoid a general action, and to use every possible endeavour to protect the arrival of the Jamaica convoy, become still more precious since the loss of that of Canada. This able commander displayed the rarest talents in the execution of his orders. He put himself out of the reach of the hostile fleet, by steering to the west, upon the route likely to be taken by the convoy. This manœuvre was crowned with full success. Admiral Howe rallied to himself the whole convoy, with its escort, commanded by Peter Parker, and, towards the last of July, entered with them sound and safe into the ports of Ireland. The Allies then returned to their own coasts, after

demonstrations as vain and fruitless as those of their two preceding campaigns.

But of all the enterprises of the belligerent powers in Europe, none appeared to them more worthy to absorb all their attention than the siege of Gibraltar. The English were all-intent upon succouring that fortress: the French and Spaniards upon preventing it. These two opposite aims were become the object of their reciprocal emulation. Independent of the glory of their arms and the honour of crowns, there was nothing less at stake than the empire of the Mediterranean, which seemed to depend on the possession of this celebrated rock. Never did any military operation attract, to the same degree, the gaze of the entire world: this siege was compared to the most famous recorded in history, whether ancient or modern. To preserve Gibraltar, was in England the first wish of all minds: it was known there that a scarcity began to prevail, within that place, of munitions of war, and especially of provisions. It was equally known that the besiegers intended to convert the blockade into an open attack. Already they were preparing machines of a new construction, in order to carry by dint of force what they had failed of attaining by famine. Accordingly, since Gibraltar, notwithstanding all that art and nature had done for its defence, was menaced with perils of a new species, the British government assembled at Portsmouth all the naval forces of the kingdom. The squadrons that were cruising upon the coasts of Holland and of the Bay of Biscay, had orders to repair thither. An immense number of transports were there laden with munitions and necessaries of every denomination.

At length, all preparations being terminated, towards the beginning of September, admiral Howe, commander-in-chief, accompanied by the admirals Milbanke, Robert Hughes, and Hotham, set sail from Portsmouth. His force consisted of thirty-four sail of the line, and a proportionate number of frigates and fire-ships. Upon the fortune of this armament hung that of the besieged fortress.

Arms were not, however, the only means which the British ministers resolved to employ in order to attain the object they had in view; namely, a glorious war and an honourable peace. It was not permitted them to hope to be able to reduce their enemies entirely, so long as they persisted in their strict union: they therefore formed a design to throw division among them, by making to each of them separate proposals of peace. The dissolution of the coalition appeared to them the certain pledge of definitive triumph. They calculated also, that even in case they should not succeed in their attempt, they would nevertheless obtain a real advantage; that of contenting the minds of the people of Great Britain, and of rendering the war less odious to them, by demonstrating the necessity of continuing it. Another, no less powerful consideration had influence upon their determination: they felt, that in order to preserve the partisans they had made themselves both in and out of parliament, it was necessary that they should hold out at least an appearance of inclining towards peace. Under these considerations the British cabinet made application to the empress of Russia. She accepted the character of mediatrix with the States General of Holland: she offered them, in the name of king

George, a suspension of arms, and conditions of peace upon the footing of the treaty of 1674. The ambassador of France, who was then at the Hague, watched these secret manœuvres, and laboured with all his power to prevent the effects of them, and to maintain the *Statés General* in their fidelity to the alliance. He reminded them that they were pledged not to make peace with England until that power should have acknowledged the unrestricted freedom of the seas. While recapitulating the plans of naval operations concerted between the two states against the common enemy, he intimated that Holland could not renounce them all of a sudden, without as much prejudice to her own honour as to the interests of her faithful ally, the king of France. He glanced also at the gratitude by which the Dutch were bound to his most christian majesty for the preservation of the Cape of Good Hope, and the recovery of St. Eustatius, as well as the colonies of Guiana, owing entirely to his arms. In support of the representations of the French ambassador, the *States General* could not but add a tacit reflection. The colonies above-mentioned were still in the hands of the French, as guarantee of treaties: was it not to be feared that they would refuse to restore them, if their allies departed from their engagements? These considerations were backed also by the efforts of the partisans of France. They at length prevailed totally. The *States General* rejected the propositions of the court of London, declaring that they would not disparage the incorruptible faith of which their ancestors had left them the example. The overtures that were made at the same time to the governments of France and of Spain,

were not attended with any better success. The first entertained hopes of expelling the British altogether from the West Indies, and thereby of acquiring more efficacious rights to stipulate for the liberty of the seas. The second, swayed by the same motives, had, besides, the prospect of recovering possession of Jamaica and Gibraltar. Intimately united also by the family compact, the two monarchs would have thought it derogatory to the dignity of their crowns, not to have fulfilled the obligations it imposed.

But the British ministers hoped for more fruit from their intrigues with the United States of America. With a view to this object, they had recalled general Clinton, and replaced him by general Carleton, who, by his moderation and humanity during the war of Canada, had conciliated the esteem and confidence of the Americans. He was invested, as well as admiral Digby, with power to negotiate peace with the United States, upon the basis of independence, and to conclude with them a treaty of amity and commerce.

But the Americans took into consideration that no act of the parliament had as yet authorized the king to conclude peace or truce with America; and consequently it was to be apprehended that proposals and promises made at the mere motion of ministers, might afterwards be disavowed by the two houses. They were aware also of the extreme repugnance which the king personally had to acknowledge their independence. They began therefore to suspect the existence of a hidden snare. These conjectures acquired new force with them, on hearing that the Brit-

ish cabinet had made separate overtures to each of the belligerent powers. They no longer doubted but that its drift was, by means of these overtures, to sow division among them and to amuse them by vain words. The proposition of peace appeared to them a mere stratagem of the English to divert their attention from the preparations requisite to the prosecution of the war, and thereby secure for themselves easy advantages. The French minister at Philadelphia exerted himself to the utmost to interrupt all negotiations. He placed in the strongest light the grounds which the Americans had for apprehending bad faith on the part of England, and for confiding, on the contrary, in the sincerity and generosity of the king of France. The most influential members of the American government were little disposed of themselves to commence their career in the political world by a violation of treaties, and to exchange an approved alliance for a suspicious friendship: their opinion prevailed. The Congress declared formally that they would enter into no negotiation wherein their ally should not participate.

Moreover, that not the slightest doubt should remain respecting the good faith of the United States, in order to bar all hope to England and all suspicion to France the provincial assemblies decreed that peace should never be concluded with Great Britain without the consent of his most christian majesty; declaring enemies to the country all those who should attempt to negotiate without authority from Congress. Thus the first days of the year witnessed the failure of all hope of pacification. The cause for which the belligerent powers had taken

arms appeared still undecided. In the midst of that reciprocal distrust which imbittered minds, no form of conciliation was admissible, till ushered in by the last necessity. While such was the posture of affairs upon the American continent, they were about to be decided, in the islands, by one of those events which triumph over all the measures of prudence. The war of the West Indies was destined to have an issue similar to that which the catastrophe of Cornwallis had operated in Virginia. The allied courts had made formidable preparations for executing at last their long-meditated projects against Jamaica. The Spaniards had in the islands of St. Domingo and Cuba, a numerous fleet and a considerable body of troops, both perfectly equipped and in readiness to move wherever the good of the service might require. On the other hand, the Count de Grasse was at Fort Royal in Martinico, with thirty-four sail of the line and a great number of frigates. The French admiral was occupied with the care of refitting his fleet, while awaiting a second convoy which departed from Brest early in February, and which brought him an immense quantity of arms and military stores, of which he stood in great need. After having terminated his preparations, his intention was, to effect his junction with the Spaniards at St. Domingo, in order to act in concert against Jamaica. Their combined forces were to consist of sixty sail of the line, and near twenty thousand land troops; a prodigious armament, and such as had never before been seen in those seas. The English were very far from having means of resistance adequate to those of attack. When Rodney, who was then anchored at Barbadoes, had been

joined by admiral Hood, and three ships of the line from England, he found himself at the head of no more than thirty-six sail of the line. The garrisons of the British islands were all very weak; and even in Jamaica there were only six battalions of troops, inclusive of militia. The terror was so great there, that the governor of the island proclaimed martial law, the effect of which was to suspend all civil authority, and to confer it entire upon the military commanders.

Admiral Rodney was perfectly aware that the success of the West Indian war, and the fate of all the British possessions in those seas depended on two decisive events. It was necessary to intercept the Brest convoy before it should arrive at Martinico, and to prevent the French fleet from uniting with that of Spain at St. Domingo. In order to accomplish the first of these objects, he had put to sea, and so stationed his fleet to windward of the French islands, that it extended from the island of Desirade to that of St. Vincent's; thus occupying the route usually followed by vessels coming from Europe bound to Martinico. He had also taken the precaution to detach his frigates still more to windward, that they might observe and promptly report to him all the movements of the enemy. But the French presaged the snare that was laid for them. Instead of taking the ordinary track, they stood with their convoy to the north of Desirade, and then keeping close under the lee of Guadaloupe and Dominica, brought it in safety to the bay of Fort-Royal in Martinico. This re-enforcement was most opportune for the French. It was, on the contrary, extremely fatal for the English, who had now no other means of averting their

total ruin in those parts, but by preventing the junction of the fleets of France and Spain at St. Domingo. With this object in view, Rodney came to anchor in Gros-Islet Bay at St. Lucia, in order to be able to watch continually all that passed at Fort-Royal. His frigates kept up a very active cruise; and in the meantime he took care to recruit his water and provisions, in order to be in a situation to keep the sea as long as possible. Meanwhile, the Count de Grasse felt himself pressed to act. His instructions required it of him; and their object was of the last importance to the glory and prosperity of the French realm. On the safety of his convoy depended the success of the expedition of Jamaica. He sent it forward under the escort of two ships of the line, the *Sagittaire* and *Experiment*, and followed it shortly after with all his fleet. He would have wished to avail himself of the trade winds to sail directly towards St. Domingo; but he reflected that in so doing, incumbered as he was with upwards of an hundred transports, and the wind always blowing from the same point, it was almost impossible for him to keep out of the reach of the British fleet. It was evidently in the interests of his designs to avoid a battle; he therefore took a different route. He shaped his course to the northward, standing along near the shores of the islands with all his vast armament. Prudence could not but applaud this measure, and every thing promised its success. The pilots of the Count de Grasse had the advantage over those of the enemy of being better acquainted with the bearings of these coasts, for the most part French or Spanish; and they might of course approach them as near as

they should think proper. Besides, the different channels formed between these islands, offered both secure retreats and favourable winds for escaping the pursuit of the enemy. The French admiral might thus pass his convoy along the coasts, while his ships of war should form in order of battle to cover it against the attempts of his adversary. It was easy for the French by this means to keep to windward of the British, and consequently to preserve a free passage to St. Domingo. The Count de Grasse had therefore sufficient grounds for hoping that all the vessels under his command would, by little and little, make their way good to the point of general rendezvous. The British frigates, which kept a diligent watch, soon apprized Rodney of the sailing of the French fleet. Immediately, with his accustomed promptitude, he put to sea in quest of the enemy. It was the ninth of April. Already the French had begun to pass Dominica, and were to leeward of that island when they descried the whole British fleet. The Count de Grasse ordered the captains of the transports to crowd all sail and take shelter in the port of Guadaloupe. The two admirals prepared themselves for battle with equal skill and bravery. The Frenchman, however, chose to keep his enemy at a distance, in order to give his convoy time to retire, and not to commit to the caprice of fortune a certain operation. The Englishman, on the contrary, felt that he could not engage his adversary too close, since there was no remedy for the critical situation of affairs except in a complete and decisive victory. The Count de Grasse had thirty-three sail of the line; among which, one of one hundred and ten guns, the

Ville de Paris, five of eighty, twenty-one of seventy-four, and the rest of sixty-four. The crews were complete, and there were on board the French fleet five to six thousand land troops, forming the garrison of the ships. The centre was under the immediate orders of the Count de Grasse; the Marquis de Vaudreuil commanded the van, and M. de Bougainville the rear. The fleet of admiral Rodney consisted of thirty-six sail of the line, of which one of ninety-eight guns, five of ninety, twenty of seventy-four, and the others of sixty-four. The British van was commanded by vice-admiral Hood, and the rear-guard by rear-admiral Drake. The English were desirous to engage a general action, but they had not yet been able to get abreast of the island of Dominica, and their advance was retarded by calms. They endeavoured nevertheless to profit of the puffs of wind which sprung up from time to time, in order to fetch the French. But the latter, favoured by a breeze, made for Guadaloupe. The van of the British fleet receiving the wind soon after, admiral Hood seized the occasion to come up with the French within cannon-shot reach, and the action commenced towards nine o'clock in the morning. The Count de Grasse was full of confidence at seeing that he could bring all his force to bear upon a part only of the enemy's.

The engagement was extremely fierce; but however impetuous was the attack of the French, the British withstood it without losing their order. The headmost ships of their centre having at length a sufficiency of wind to carry them to the support of their van, which suffered excessively, they renewed the action with inexpressible fury. The French re-

ceived their shock with a valour no less worthy of admiration. Rodney's own ship, the *Formidable*, of ninety-eight guns, and his two seconds, the *Namur* and the *Duke*, both of ninety, made a tremendous fire. The captain of a French seventy-four, so far from being dismayed at it, ordered his mainsail to be furled, that his crew might abandon all idea of retreat, and fight with the more desperation. He waited the approach of the three British ships, and engaged them with admirable intrepidity. His conduct inspired the English themselves with so much enthusiasm, that one of them, in a letter which was made public, did not hesitate to call him the *godlike Frenchman*. The other ships of the British centre came up successively, and the rear, under admiral Drake, was not far behind them. But the French admiral, who had accomplished his purpose, thought proper to draw his ships out of action, and accordingly gave the signal for retreat. Such was the issue of this first combat: it would be difficult to decide on which part the most ability and gallantry were signalized. The English made no attempt to follow their enemies, whether because the wind was less in their favour, or because their van, and especially the *Royal Oak* and the *Montague*, had been grievously damaged. On observing this, the French admiral ordered the convoy, which had taken refuge at Guadaloupe, to put to sea again immediately, and continue its voyage. This order was executed with as much precision as promptitude by M. de Langle, who commanded the convoy; which a few days after arrived safe and entire at St. Domingo. Some French ships had suffered considerably in the action. Among

others, the *Cato* was so damaged that it became necessary to send her to Guadaloupè to be repaired. The *Jason* also had been so shattered in her engagement with the *Zealous*, that she was also obliged to make the best of her way to the same island. These accidents prevented the Count de Grasse from gaining so soon as he could have wished to windward of the groupe of islands called the Saints, in order afterwards to stand to windward of Desirade, and repair to St. Domingo by the north of the islands. The English, after having hastily refitted their ships, had again set themselves to pursue the French. The Count de Grasse continued to beat to windward, in order to weather the Saints, and he was already arrived, on the eleventh, off Guadaloupe. He had gained so much distance upon the British fleet, that its topsails only could be descried, and that with difficulty, by the French. Rodney had pushed his pursuit with all the diligence exacted by the urgency of the conjuncture; but he began to despair of overtaking the enemy. It was agitated in a council of war, whether it would not be better for the interests of their affairs to give over the direct pursuit of the enemy, and stand to leeward, in order to arrive, if possible, before them in the waters of St. Domingo. While this important point was under deliberation, and while an anxious look-out was kept at the masts, in painful expectation of the moment which was to decide the fate of Jamaica, and whether the empire of the West Indies was to remain with the French or with the English, a signal announced, about noon, the appearance of two French ships. They had fallen to leeward, and were drifting con-

tinually nearer to the English. They were the *Zélé*, of seventy-four guns, a ship which seemed destined to bring disaster to the French fleet, and the frigate *Astree*, which the Count de Grasse had detached to take her in tow. A little before, the *Zélé* had got foul of the *Ville de Paris*, and lost her fore-mast and mizen-mast in the shock. In consequence of this accident she was unable to keep up with the rest of the fleet. The English now conceived new hopes of engaging the battle for which they so ardently panted. They calculated that by bearing down rapidly to cut off the drifted ships, they should constrain the French admiral to come to their succour, and thereby place himself under the necessity of fighting. They accordingly manœuvred with so much promptitude and sagacity, that the two ships could no longer escape them, unless the French admiral bore down with his whole fleet for their preservation. It is thought, and not without reason, that if the Count de Grasse, content with the glory acquired upon the coasts of Virginia, had known how to yield in time to fortune, and had abandoned the two fatal ships to the destiny that menaced them, he might easily have made his way good to St. Domingo. Once arrived in that island, where the forces of Spain would have joined his own, he might have given the final blow to the British power in the West Indies. He had already gained so far to windward, that if he had continued his voyage it was become impossible for the English to come up with him. But deeming it contrary to the dignity and reputation of the mighty armament which he commanded, to suffer two ships to be taken almost under the fire of its guns, he took

the brave but no less adventurous resolution of going to their succour: thus, for the sake of protecting an inconsiderable part of his fleet, exposing himself to the hazard of losing the whole. He formed his line of battle, bore down upon the English, and rescued the *Zélé*. But this movement had brought him so near to the enemy, that it was no longer in his power to avoid an engagement. The two admirals prepared for it with equal ardour. The same high spirit was shared by all their crews: there was not a sailor of the two nations who did not feel that he was about to contend for the honour of his sovereign, and the dominion of the West Indies. But the night was already come: it was employed on either side in making every preparation for the great day of the morrow.

The space of sea which was to serve as the field of battle, is contained between the islands of Guadeloupe, Dominica, the Saints, and Maria-Galante. Both to windward and leeward, the waters abound in shoals and very dangerous reefs. The twelfth of April, at six in the morning, the two fleets found themselves drawn up in presence of each other, but on opposite tacks. The wind at this moment having veered from east to south-east, became more favourable to the English. They profited of it without loss of time; their van and the greater part of their centre ranged up to within half cannon-shot of the enemy, and commenced the attack with unexampled fury. The action lasted from seven in the morning till seven at night. The other ships of the centre and the greater part of those of the rear edged up successively, and took part in the battle. Among them was distinguished the *Barfleur*, of ninety guns, the

ship of admiral Hood. During this time the *Zélé*, towed by the *Astree*, was endeavouring to gain Guadaloupe.

Never did warriors the most inflamed with desire of victory, display more desperate valour or more determined resolution, than the French and English in this memorable day. The broadsides from their rapid succession appeared continual; through the thick smoke that covered the two fleets, nothing was seen but the blaze of their guns, nothing was heard but the thunder of artillery, and the crash of the spars that were shivered into splinters. The *Formidable*, admiral Rodney's ship, discharged in the course of this terrible conflict no less than eighty broadsides; the *Ville de Paris* an equal number. The fight continued for several hours without any apparent superiority of success; almost all the ships were excessively shattered; the crews were exhausted with fatigue. From the very commencement of the action the English, according to their custom, had endeavoured to break the enemy's line of battle. But the wind was not strong enough; and the French perceiving their design, held firm and repulsed them with vigour. Meanwhile the van and centre of the *Count de Grasse* had suffered extremely in their rigging, which occasioned a sensible retardment in the movements of these two divisions. The third, commanded by M. de Bougainville, not having regulated its *monœuvres* by those of the rest of the line, had fallen into extreme disorder. To this fatal event, which could only be imputed to men, there soon succeeded another, originating in the contrariety of fortune. The wind became all at once so unfavourable to the

French, that their sails filled a-back; it was for the same reason extremely propitious to the English. Rodney took advantage of it instantly. He bore rapidly down with the *Formidable*, the *Namur*, the *Duke* and the *Canada*, and penetrated through the French line at the post occupied by the *Glorieux*, which was completely dismasted, at the distance of three ships from the *Ville de Paris*. His other ships were directed by signal to follow him. This order having been executed with great promptitude, the whole British fleet found itself to windward of the enemy's. From this moment the fate of the day could no longer be doubtful. The English wore round close upon their adversaries, who, broken and in total confusion, could ill withstand an enemy fighting in compact line, and animated by the prospect of infallible victory. The French protracted their resistance only by detached groupes, or partial engagements of ship with ship. Their desperate situation, however, had not yet abated their courage. They endeavoured to re-establish the line to leeward, but all their efforts were vain, though they signally honoured their misfortune. The English of preference closed with those ships which they judged unable to escape them. The *Canada* engaged the *Hector*, which did not surrender till after having exhausted all its means of defence. The *Centaur* attacked the *Cesar*; they had both remained entire. A furious action ensued. The French captain would not surrender. Three other ships of war assailed him: but after his ship had been battered to pieces, and his ensign staff shot away, M. de Marigny, who commanded the *Cesar*, ordered his colours to be

nailed to the mast, and redoubled the fire of all his batteries. He was slain: his successor defended himself with the same courage. At length his main-mast being fallen, and all his tackling destroyed, he yielded to number. The captain of the *Glorieux* did not surrender till after the most honourable resistance. The *Ardent*, after a no less gallant defence, fell also into the power of the English. The *Diademe*, torn all to pieces, went to the bottom. If all the French captains whom fortune betrayed on this day, displayed an heroic bravery, none of them deserved more lasting praises than the unfortunate Count de Grasse. He seemed inflexibly resolved rather to sink with his ship than to surrender her to the enemy. Totally dismasted, and admitting the water on all parts, the *Ville de Paris*, after a combat of ten hours, continued to keep up a terrible fire with starboard and larboard guns. Captain Cornwallis, in the *Canada*, appeared to rest his glory upon reducing her; but by her very mass she repulsed all his efforts: six other British ships joined the *Canada* to give the final blows to the French admiral, but still in vain. Several of his ships had attempted to succour him: at first his two seconds the *Languedoc* and *Couronne*, then the *Pluton* and the *Triomphant*. But, overwhelmed by number, the captains of these ships had been constrained to abandon their captain-general to all the dangers of his position. The Count de Grasse found his last hope extinct; his fleet, lately so flourishing, was either dispersed or fallen into the power of the enemy, but his invincible courage refused to bend. He persisted in this manner, facing with the most admirable intrepidity the repeated attempts that were made upon

him from every quarter, till past six o'clock in the afternoon. Admiral Hood's approach in the *Barfleur* of ninety guns, did not alter his determination. He bore a heavy fire from him during some time, without any appearance of yielding: and it was not till after a dreadful destruction of his people that he consented at last to strike. He and two more were the only men left standing upon the upper deck. Thus fell into the hands of the English the *Ville de Paris*, justly considered as one of the fairest ornaments of the French marine. This magnificent ship had been presented to Lewis XV. by his capital, at the epoch of the disasters occasioned by the war of Canada. It had cost four millions of livres. Thirty-six chests of money, and the whole train of artillery, intended for the attack on Jamaica, became the prey of the victors. The English lost in this battle and in that of the ninth, upwards of a thousand men. The loss of the French was much more considerable, without reckoning prisoners. The first had in particular to regret the captains Bayne and Blair of the *Alfred* and *Anson*. Lord Robert Manners, son of the Marquis of Granby, a young man of the greatest promise, survived his wounds but a short time. This day cost life to six captains of French ships: among whom were the Viscount d'Escars and M. de la Clocheterie; the first of the *Glorieux*, the second of the *Hercule*.

To reap the fruits of his victory, admiral Rodney would have wished to pursue the enemy after the battle. But as it grew dark, he thought it necessary, in order to secure his prizes, and to afford time for inquiring into the condition of the ships that had suffered in the action, to bring to for the night. The

following morning he was still detained upon the coasts of Guadaloupe by a calm, which lasted three days. Having at length examined the bays and harbours of the neighbouring French islands, and being satisfied that the enemy had sailed to leeward, Rodney despatched Sir Samuel Hood, whose division being in the rear and coming up late, had suffered but little in the battle, to the west end of St. Domingo, in the hope that he might be able to pick up some of their disabled ships. Hood was afterwards to repair to Cape Tiberon, where admiral Rodney had appointed to meet him with the rest of his fleet.

With the exception of some French ships which M. de Bougainville conducted to St. Eustatius to be repaired, all the others under the Marquis de Vaudreuil, keeping together in a body, made the best of their way to Cape Francois. In the meantime, admiral Hood had arrived in the waters of St. Domingo, and while cruising in the Mora passage, which separates that island from Porto-Rico, he descried four sail of French vessels, two of the line, and two of less force. These were the Jason and Caton, which were returning from the anchorage of Guadaloupe, with the frigate Aimable and the sloop-of-war Ceres. Their captains were not informed of the action of the twelfth of April, and were pursuing their voyage in full security. They fell into the midst of the squadron of Sir Samuel Hood, who had little difficulty in forcing them to surrender. A fifth sail, which was discovered in the distance, had the fortune to escape the pursuit of the English, by an unexpected shift of wind in her favour. Thus the French loss amounted to eight ships of the line: but the *Diademe* having

been sunk, and the Cesar having blown up, there remained but six in the possession of the English as trophies of their victory.

Admiral Hood rejoined Sir George Rodney off Cape Tiberon; the latter then proceeded with the disabled ships and the prizes to Jamaica. The former remained with twenty-five ships that had suffered the least in the waters of St. Domingo, to watch the enemy, and prevent him from attempting any expedition of importance against the British possessions. Though discouraged by the check which they had just received, the Allies were still formidable. They had at Cape-Francois twenty-three sail of the line under the Marquis de Vaudreuil, and sixteen Spanish commanded by Don Solano. Their land forces amounted to near twenty thousand men. They relinquished however the enterprise of Jamaica and indeed every sort of attempt in the West Indies. The Spaniards returned to the Havanna. Some French ships took under their guard a convoy of merchantmen, and arrived in Europe without accident. The Marquis de Vaudreuil repaired with the rest of his fleet to the ports of North America. Thus ended the projects against Jamaica, and all this campaign in the West Indies. It produced afterwards one only event; the Bahama Islands which had hitherto served as a shelter for British privateers, surrendered the sixth of May to the Spanish arms. The French obtained also another success in the most northern regions of America: a feeble compensation of their late losses. The Marquis de Vaudreuil, a little before his departure for the United States, had detached M. de la Peyrouse, with the ship of war

Sceptre, and the frigates *Astree* and *Engageante*. His instructions were, to repair to Hudson's bay, and do all the harm possible to the establishments of the British north-west company. The expedition succeeded completely: the English estimated the damage he caused them at several millions of livres. It was much more remarkable for the almost insurmountable obstacles which the nature of the places and climate presented to the French, than for the resistance of their enemies, whom they surprised in full security and without defence. The coasts were difficult and little known, and the shoals very dangerous. Though it was only the last of July when the ships of the expedition arrived in Hudson's bay, yet the cold was already so rigorous there, and the masses of floating ice so numerous that they were very near being shut up for the winter in those bleak and dismal regions.

In the meantime admiral Rodney had repaired to Jamaica: he had made a triumphal entry into the port of Kingston. The inhabitants of the island crowded with eagerness to behold their deliverer and to enjoy the spectacle of the victorious and of the captured ships. But no object more excited their curiosity, than the French admiral himself, who already become illustrious by great success in America, and ready but now to fall upon their island at the head of the most formidable armament, appeared there at present as a memorable example of the caprices of fortune. The victory of Rodney and the exultation of the colonists, did not however cause them to forget what generosity exacted of them towards an unfortunate enemy. They loaded him with all the attentions which they judged suitable to console him.

Meanwhile, before the news of the victory of the twelfth of April had reached England, admiral Pigot had been appointed to the command of the West India fleet, in the room of Rodney. The latter obeyed without delay, and departed for Europe, after having embarked the Count de Grasse in the homeward bound Jamaica convoy. The odious pillage committed at St. Eustatius, had brought Rodney into great discredit with the public. His conduct had been censured with extreme asperity even in parliament. The complaints which arose on all parts against this admiral, might have contributed no less to his recall than his attachment to the party in opposition to ministers. But when arrived in England, he answered his accusers only by showing them the Count de Grasse prisoner. Immediately, the infamous spoiler of St. Eustatius became the idol of the nation. Those same individuals who had inveighed against him with the most vehemence, showed themselves the most forward to load him with panegyric in the same measure.

The Count de Grasse encountered in England the most honourable reception: he owed it perhaps as much to ostentation as to politeness. As soon as he was arrived at London he was presented to the king, and waited on by all the great. The people assembled in throng before the hotel where he lodged: forced to appear at the balcony, the multitude greeted him with loud acclamations, and applauses without end. They called him the brave, the valiant Frenchman. Such is the fascination of courage even in an enemy! In the public places where the Count made his appearance, numerous crowds gathered about

him, not to insult him, but, on the contrary, to pay him homage. The enthusiasm of the people of London seemed to redouble, when it was generally agreed to find him an English physiognomy. He was obliged to consent to have his portrait painted; copies of it were profusely distributed throughout the country; and whoever was without it, exposed himself to be accounted a bad patriot. Admiral Rodney was created an English peer, by the title of Lord Rodney. Hood was honoured with an Irish peerage; Drake and Affleck with baronetages.

The grief which the news of the disaster of the twelfth of April produced in France, was the more profound, as it immediately succeeded the most sanguine hope. But the French, constant in their gaiety, and intrepid by their nature, rapidly lose impressions of sadness; they soon resumed courage. The king was the first to give the example of firmness: it was imitated by all France. In order to repair the losses of his marine, the monarch ordered the immediate construction of twelve ships of the line of one hundred and ten, eighty, and seventy-four guns. The Counts de Provence and D'Artois, his brothers, offered him each one of eighty; the prince of Conde one of one hundred and ten, in the name of the states of Burgundy. The chamber of commerce, with the six corps of retailers of the city of Paris, the merchants of Marseilles, of Bordeaux, of Lyons, resolved with the same zeal to furnish to the state each a ship of one hundred and ten guns. The receivers-general of the revenue, the farmers-general, and other financial companies, offered to advance considerable sums. All these offers were accepted, but not those

which patriotism had dictated to private citizens: the king, not willing to increase the burthens that already weighed upon his people, ordered the sums which had been subscribed or advanced by particulars, to be placed again at their disposal. Thus, the ardent zeal which manifested itself in all parts towards the country and the sovereign, raised the French above the malice of adverse fortune, and cheered them with new hopes of a brilliant future.

We have seen the war brought to an end upon the American continent by the irreparable check which the arms of England sustained at Yorktown; and we have also seen it suspended in the West Indies by the disasters of the French marine. We shall now return from those distant regions, to consider the issue of this long and bloody war in that part of the globe which we inhabit, and in those countries whence it drew its principal aliment. The attention of all the informed part of mankind was turned upon the siege of Gibraltar. For many ages, Europe had not witnessed an enterprise of this sort which presented more formidable difficulties, or more important results.

Admiral Howe had sailed for the relief of that fortress. Various were the conjectures of men respecting the success of his efforts. Some, full of confidence in the dexterity and audacity of the English, inferred from the event of their preceding expeditions the most favourable issue to this; others, reflecting upon the naval superiority of the allied courts, and impressed with esteem for the talents and valour of the Count de Guichen and Don Lewis de Cordova, formed a contrary opinion. In one place, the extra-

ordinary preparations that had been made and were still making, by the besiegers, appeared to answer for the approaching fall of Gibraltar. In another, on the contrary, the strength of its position, the perfection of its works, and the intrepidity of its defenders, seemed to place it beyond the reach of danger. Everywhere but one opinion prevailed upon this point: that the obstacles were numerous, and that blood must stream copiously before they were all surmounted. But the very hazards of this great enterprise so inflamed the valour of all warlike men, that even those who were not called to take an active part in it, wished at least to be spectators of the glorious scenes that were about to be represented at the foot of this formidable rock. Hence it was that not only from France and Spain, but also from Germany and the remoter regions of the north, the most distinguished personages were seen hastening to arrive at the camp of St. Roch and in the port of Algesiras. Even those nations which are accounted barbarous, and who have communicated that appellation to so large and so fine a portion of Africa, were seized with an irresistible curiosity: they repaired to the nearest shores in order to contemplate a spectacle so new for them. All was in movement in the camp, in the arsenals, and aboard the fleets of the allies. From the summit of his rock, Elliot awaited with an heroic constancy the attack with which he was menaced. But before relating the memorable events that ensued, it appears to us necessary to enter into a description of the places, and of the works within and without the citadel; and to trace an outline of the plans and preparations of the besiegers.

The fortress of Gibraltar is seated upon a rock which projects in the form of a tongue for the space of a league, from north to south, out of the continent of Spain, and which is terminated by a promontory called the point of Europe. The top of this rock is elevated a thousand feet above the level of the sea. Its eastern flank, or that which looks towards the Mediterranean, is entirely composed of a living rock, and so perpendicularly steep as to be absolutely inaccessible. The point of Europe, which is also of solid rock, slopes and terminates in an esplanade which rises twenty feet above the sea; here the English have planted a battery of twenty pieces of heavy artillery. Behind this point the promontory dilates, and there is formed a second esplanade which overlooks the first, and affords space enough for the troops of the garrison to parade in without difficulty. As the declivity is gentle, and of easy access, the English have made cuts in the rock in front, and surrounded the platform with a wall fifteen feet in height and as many in thickness, copiously furnished with artillery. Within this platform they have constructed besides an intrenched camp, which offers them a secure retreat in case they should be driven from their outer works. From this post they communicate with another still more elevated, and situated among steep and irregular masses; here the besieged had established their camp. Upon the western flank of the promontory, and upon the sea-shore the town of Gibraltar itself occupied a long and narrow space. It had been almost totally destroyed by the artillery in one of the preceding attacks. It is closed on the south by a wall, on the north by an ancient fortification called the castle of the

Moors, and in front, next the sea, by a parapet sixteen feet thick, and furnished from distance to distance with batteries, which fire level with the water. Behind the town, the mountain rises abruptly quite to its summit. The English, for the greater security of this part, have constructed two other works, which project considerably into the sea. Both are armed with formidable batteries. The first, which looks to the north, is called the Old Mole: the second, the New Mole. Not content with these defences, they have erected in front of the castle of the Moors and of Old Mole, another work consisting in two bastions, connected by a curtain, of which the scarp and covered way, being well counter-mined throughout, are very difficult to mine. The object of this construction is to sweep by a raking fire that narrow strip of land which runs between the rock and the sea, and which forms the only communication of the Spanish continent with the fortress. In the front of this work, the water of the sea had been introduced by means of dikes and sluices, which forming a pool or fen, adds much to the strength of this part. The north side, or that which faces Spain, is by far the loftiest flank of the rock. It fronts the camp of St. Roch, and presents upon all its surface a prodigious quantity of batteries, which descend in tiers towards the Spanish camp. Thus art had combined with nature to make of this immense rock an impregnable citadel. Between the promontory of Gibraltar and the coast of Spain, lies towards the west a deep gap filled by the waters of the sea; it is the bay of Gibraltar or of Algesiras. The port and city of this name are situated upon the western shore of the bay. The garrison of

Algesiras amounted to little over seven thousand men, with about two hundred and fifty officers. Such was the nature of that rock, against which the Spanish monarchy displayed the greatest part of its forces, and invoked besides the powerful assistance of France. This enterprise was the object of the most ardent wishes of Charles III.; he considered the honour of his crown as deeply interested in its success. The king of France likewise saw in the reduction of Gibraltar the termination of the war. In order to push the operations of the siege and secure its success, the conduct of it was committed to the Duke de Crillon: the public opinion designated the victor of Minorca as the conqueror of Gibraltar.

The preparations directed against this place exceeded every thing that had ever been heard of in like circumstances. Upwards of twelve hundred pieces of heavy cannon, eighty-three thousand barrels of powder, a proportionable quantity of bombs and balls, were destined to batter the works of the English. Forty gun-boats, with as many bomb ketches, were to open their fire on the side of the bay, under cover of a formidable fleet of fifty sail of the line; twelve French, the others Spanish. Frigates and light vessels hovered in front of this line, in waiting to carry succour wherever it might be wanted. Upwards of three hundred large boats had been assembled from all parts of Spain, which came to join the immense number already in the bay of Algesiras. It was intended to employ them during the attack in carrying munitions and necessaries to the ships of war, and in landing the troops as soon as the works should be ruined. Nor were the preparations by land

inferior to those that were made by sea. The Spaniards had already advanced by sap; and their lines, as soon as they were terminated, presented an astonishing number of batteries of heavy artillery. Twelve thousand French troops were brought to diffuse their peculiar vivacity and animation through the Spanish army, as well as for the benefit to be derived from the example and exertion of their superior discipline and experience. At sight of the immense warlike apparatus assembled against the place, and of the ardour manifested by the soldiers, the generals who directed the siege considered themselves as so sure of success, that they were upon the point of ordering, without further delay, a general assault. They had resolved that while the land forces should assail the fortress on the side of the isthmus, the fleet should batter it upon all the points contiguous to the sea. They hoped that the garrison, already little numerous, experiencing besides a great diminution in dead and wounded, would be totally incapable of sufficing for the defence of so extensive works. The loss of some thousands of men and several ships of the line, would have seemed to the besiegers but a slender price for so inestimable a conquest. Meanwhile, the project of an attack by main force was not adopted by all the members of the council. Those who blamed its temerity, observed that until the defences of the place on the land side were entirely prostrated, to attempt the assault would be sending the troops to a certain death without any hope of success. On the part of the sea, they showed that an attack would be attended with the inevitable destruction of the ships, without producing the smallest effect upon the fortress. "Ne-

vertheless," they added, "as a simple attack by land must necessarily be fruitless, it is highly desirable that a kind of ships could be procured more capable of resisting artillery than those of an ordinary construction." It could not be expected to carry Gibraltar by an attack of short duration; but was it possible to prolong it without hazarding the ruin of the fleet? This consideration occupied the thought of several men of talents. They presented plans of various inventions, all having for object to facilitate the battering of the fortress on the part of the sea. These schemes were examined with extreme attention. Several were rejected as incompetent to the purpose in view, none as too expensive. At length, after long deliberation, it was agreed to adopt the plan of the Chevalier D'Arcon, a French engineer of high note: it was thought ingenious and infallible. His project went to the construction of floating batteries or ships, upon such a principle, that they could neither be sunk, nor fired. The first of these properties was to be acquired by the extraordinary thickness of timber, with which their keels and bottoms were to be fortified: the second, by securing the sides of the ships, wherever they were exposed to shot, with a strong wall, composed of timber and cork, a long time soaked in water, and including between a large body of wet sand. But the ingenious projector not being yet satisfied with his work, and wishing to render it more proof against the red-hot shot from the fortress, executed a contrivance for communicating water in every direction to restrain its effect. In imitation of the circulation of the blood in a living body, a great variety of pipes and canals per-

forated all the solid workmanship, in such a manner, that a continued succession of water was to be conveyed to every part of the vessels; a number of pumps being adapted to the purpose of an unlimited supply. By this means, it was expected that the red-hot shot would operate to the remedy of its own mischief: as the very action of cutting through those pipes would procure its immediate extinction.

To protect his floating batteries from bombs, and the men at the batteries from grape or descending shot: the Chevalier D'Arcon had contrived a hanging roof, which was to be worked up and down with ease and at pleasure; the roof was composed of a strong rope-work netting laid over with a thick covering of wet hides; while its sloping position was calculated to prevent the shells from lodging, and to throw them off into the sea before they could take effect. All this scaffolding was constructed upon the hulks of great ships, from six hundred to fourteen hundred tons burthen, cut down to the state required by the plan. There were ten of these floating batteries; they were armed in all with an hundred and fifty-four pieces of heavy brass cannon, that were mounted; and something about half the number of spare guns were kept ready to supply the place of those which might be overheated or otherwise disabled in action. The *Pastora* alone which was the largest carried twenty-four in battery, and twelve in reserve. The *Talla Piedra*, commanded by the Prince of Nassau, and the *Paula*, which was also one of the stoutest, mounted a no less numerous artillery. That its fire might not be slackened by losses in dead or wounded, thirty-six men, as well Span-

iards as French were allotted to the service of each piece. The command of this flotilla had been confided to admiral Don Moreno, a seaman of equal valour and ability, who had served with distinction at the siege of Port Mahon. The vast bulk of the battering ships, the materials employed in their construction, and the weight of their artillery seemed likely to render them extremely heavy and unmanageable. They were however rigged with so much skill and ingenuity, that they executed their various evolutions with all the ease and dexterity of frigates.

When all these preparations were completed, there were few persons in the camp of the besiegers who did not consider the fall of a place so vigorously attacked as inevitable. It was at this epoch, towards the middle of August, that two French princes arrived at the army before Gibraltar; the Count D'Artois and the Duke de Bourbon. The object of their mission was to animate the troops by their presence, and that they might themselves come in for a share of the glory of so signal and illustrious an enterprise. The army were impatient to receive the signal of attack; their ardour had more need of restraint than incitement. So sanguine was the general hope, that the Duke de Crillon was thought extremely cautious of hazarding an opinion, when he allowed so long a term as fourteen days to the certainty of being in possession of Gibraltar. Twenty-four hours appeared more than sufficient.

The arrival of the French princes afforded an opportunity for the display of that politeness, and the exercise of those humanized attentions and civilities, by which the refined manners of modern Europe

have tended so much to divest war of many parts of its ancient savage barbarity. The Spaniards had intercepted some packets, containing a number of letters directed to the officers in Gibraltar, and had transmitted them to the court of Madrid, where they lay, at the time that the Count D'Artois arrived at that capital. The French prince obtained the packets from the king, and on his arrival at the camp had them forwarded to their address. The Duke de Crillon sent with them a letter to general Elliot, in which, besides informing him of this particular mark of attention shown by the Count D'Artois, he farther acquainted him that he was charged by the French princes respectively, to convey to the general the strongest expressions of their regard and esteem for his person and character. He requested in the most obliging terms, that he would accept of a present of fruit and vegetables, for his own use, which accompanied the letter, and of some ice and partridges for the gentlemen of his household; farther entreating, that as he knew the general lived entirely upon vegetables, he would acquaint him with the particular kinds which he liked best, with a view to his regular supply. General Elliot answered with the same politeness; he returned many thanks to the princes and to the Duke de Crillon, for the flattering attentions they were pleased to show him. But he informed the duke that in accepting the present, he had broken through a resolution which he had invariably adhered to from the commencement of the war, which was, never to receive, or to procure by any means whatever, any provisions or other commodity for his own private use; and that he made it a point

of honour, to partake of both plenty and scarcity, in common with the lowest of his brave fellow-soldiers. He therefore entreated the duke, not to heap any more favours of the same kind upon him, as he could not in future apply them to his own use. This exchange of courtesies was deemed worthy of their authors and of the sovereigns they represented.

But while these civilities were passing as in the midst of a profound peace, the dispositions were in process for redoubling the horrors of war. Elliot had hitherto observed in a sort of inaction the preparations of the besiegers, when all of a sudden he saw issuing from the port of Algeiras the enormous masses of the floating batteries. If his courage was not shaken, he could not however but feel at least a strong emotion of surprise. In this uncertainty as to what might be the effect of those new invented machines, prudence urged him to make every defensive preparation that was calculated to elude and defeat it. Confiding, moreover, in the strength of the place, and the valour of his garrison, he was under no apprehension for the issue of the approaching attack. He did more: he resolved to anticipate it, by attacking himself. The beseigers had pushed their works with so much diligence that some of them were already far advanced towards the fortress. The governor determined to try how far a vigorous cannonade and bombardment with red-hot balls, carcasses and shells, might operate to their destruction. A powerful and admirably directed firing accordingly commenced from the garrison at seven o'clock in the morning of the eighth of September. By ten o'clock, the Mahon battery, with another adjoining

to it, were in flames; and by five in the evening were entirely consumed, together with their gun-carriages, platforms and magazines, although the latter were bomb proof. A great part of the communications to the eastern parallel, and of the trenches and parapet for musketry, were likewise destroyed; and a large battery near the bay suffered excessively: the works were on fire in fifty places at the same instant. It was not without extreme exertions and considerable loss that the besiegers at length succeeded in extinguishing the flames, and preserving their works from total destruction.

This affront was so much resented by the Duke de Crillon, that having pressed the reparation of his works during the night, he unmasked all his batteries by break of day on the following morning; they mounted one hundred and ninety-three pieces of cannon and mortars, and continued to pour their fire of shot and shells, without intermission, upon the garrison, through the whole course of the day. At the same time, a part of the fleet taking the advantage of a favourable wind, dropped down from the Orange Grove at the head of the bay, and passing slowly along the works, discharged their shot at the Old Mole and the adjoining bastions, continuing their cannonade until they had passed Europa Point and got into the Mediterranean. They then formed a line to the eastward of the rock, and the admiral leading, came to the attack of the batteries on the point, and under a very slow sail, commenced a heavy fire with all their guns. But these combined efforts did very little harm to the besieged. There prevailed for some days a calm, which was soon to be interrupted by a most sanguinary combat.

The thirteenth of September was destined to witness an ever-memorable conflict. History, in effect, presents nothing more terrible for the desperate fierceness and resolution of the two parties, nor more singular for the species of arms, nor more glorious for the humanity manifested by the conquerors. The season beginning to be late, and admiral Howe approaching with intent to revictual Gibraltar, the allied commanders felt the necessity of precipitating the attack they meditated. According to the plan agreed upon, the artillery of the lines, the floating batteries, the ships of war and gun-boats were to attack the place upon all points at once. While the cannon, mortars and howitzers of the isthmus kept up a heavy fire on the land side, it was intended that the floating batteries should direct their fire against the works which commanded the bay, taking their station in front of the Old Mole. At the same time, the gun and mortar boats, with the bomb-ketches, taking post on the two flanks of the line of battering ships, were to enfilade the British artillery which defended the fortifications constructed upon the margin of the sea. As to the fleet, it was destined to concur no less effectually to the attack, according to the wind or the necessity of the service. In this manner, the fortress would be battered simultaneously by four hundred pieces of ordnance, without including the artillery afloat.

General Elliot, on his part, had neglected nothing that could enable him to make a vigorous defence. The soldiers were at their posts, the artillerists at their places with lighted matches: numerous furnaces were prepared for heating the shot. At seven in the

morning, the ~~ten~~ battering ships, under the conduct of admiral Don Moreno, put themselves in motion. Between nine and ten they came to an anchor, being moored in a line, at moderate distances, from the Old to the New Mole, lying parallel to the rock, and at about nine hundred yards distance. The admiral's ship was stationed opposite the king's bastion; and the others took their appointed places successively, and with great regularity, on his right and left. The cannonade and bombardment, on all sides, and in all directions, from the isthmus, the sea, and the various works of the fortress, was not only tremendous, but beyond example. The prodigious showers of red-hot balls, of bombs, and of carcasses, which filled the air, and were without intermission thrown to every point of the various attacks, both by sea and by land, from the garrison, astonished even the commanders of the allied forces. The battering ships, however, appeared to be the principal objects of vengeance, as they were of apprehension to the garrison; but such was the excellence of their construction, that they not only resisted this terrible fire, but answered it with equal fury; and already they had operated a breach in the works of the Old Mole. The result of so many mutual efforts seemed for a long time uncertain. At length, however, some smoke began to issue from the upper part of the battering ships Pastora and Tal-la Piedra. It was caused by some red-hot balls, which had penetrated so far into their sides, that they could not be extinguished by the water of the internal canals. They had set fire to the contiguous parts, which, after smouldering for some time, suddenly broke out in flames. The men were seen, at the

hazard of life, using fire engines, and pouring water into the shot holes. This fire, though kept under during the continuance of day light, could never be thoroughly subdued. The disorder in these two commanding ships in the centre, affected the whole line of attack; and by the evening the fire from the fortress had gained a decided superiority. The fire was continued from the batteries in the fortress with equal vigour through the night, and by one o'clock in the morning the two first batteries were in flames, and the others visibly on fire, whether by the effect of the red-hot shot, or, as the Spaniards pretended, that they were purposely set on fire, when it appeared no longer possible to save them. The confusion was now extreme. Rockets were continually thrown up by each of the ships, as signals to the fleet of their distress and danger. These signals were immediately answered, and all means used by the fleet to afford the assistance they required; but as it was deemed impossible to remove the battering ships, their endeavours were only directed to bringing off the men. A great number of boats were accordingly employed, and great intrepidity displayed, in the attempts for this purpose; the danger from the burning vessels, filled as they were with instruments of destruction, appearing no less dreadful than the fire from the garrison, terrible as that was, since the light thrown out on all sides by the flames afforded the utmost precision in its direction. Never, perhaps, has a more deplorable spectacle passed before the eyes of men. The thick darkness which covered the land and waters in the distance contrasted with the frightful glare of the flames which devoured so many victims:

in the midst of the roar of artillery, their dolorous cries were audible. A new incident occurred to interrupt the attempts that were made for their rescue, and to complete the general confusion and destruction. Captain Curtis, a seaman as able as he was adventurous, advanced at this moment with twelve gun-boats, each carrying one eighteen or twenty-four pounder. They had been constructed to oppose those of the Spaniards, and their low fire and fixed aim rendered them extremely formidable. Captain Curtis drew them up in such a manner as to flank the line of battering ships. The scene was wrought up by this fierce and unexpected attack to the highest point of calamity. The Spanish boats dared no longer to approach, and were compelled to the hard necessity of abandoning their ships and friends to the flames, or to the mercy of a heated and irritated enemy. Several of their boats and launches had been sunk before they submitted to this necessity; and one in particular, with fourscore men on board, who were all drowned, excepting an officer and twelve men, who having the fortune to float on the wreck under the walls, were taken up by the garrison. Some feluccas had taken shelter upon the coast during the night, but as soon as the day appeared, the English soon compelled them to surrender. It seemed that nothing could have exceeded the horrors of the night; but the opening of daylight disclosed a spectacle still more dreadful. Numbers of men were seen in the midst of the flames, crying out for pity and help: others floating upon pieces of timber, exposed to an equal though less dreadful danger from the opposite element. Even those in the ships, where the fire had yet made a less progress,

expressed in their looks, gestures, and words, the deepest distress and despair, and were no less urgent in imploring assistance. Moved with compassion at this dismal scene, the English discontinued their fire, and thought only of saving the enemy they had vanquished; a conduct the more generous, as it was attended with manifest peril. Captain Curtis in particular acquired an imperishable glory, by showing himself regardless of his own existence in his endeavours to preserve that of his enemies. He advanced intrepidly with his boats towards the burning ships, in order to rescue those who were about to become the prey of the one or other element. He was himself the first to rush on board the blazing batteries, and to set the example of dragging with his own hands the terrified victims from the jaws of destruction. Meanwhile death hovered incessantly round him. He was equally exposed to the peril arising from the blowing up of the ships as the fire reached their magazines, and to the continual discharge, on all sides, of the artillery, as the guns became to a certain degree heated. Several of his people were killed or severely wounded in this honourable enterprise. He was near sharing the fate of one of the largest ships, which blew up only a few moments after he left her. Near four hundred men were thus saved, by the noble exertions of Curtis, from inevitable death. The French and Spaniards, however, lost no less than fifteen hundred men, including the prisoners and wounded, in the attack by sea. The wounded that fell into the power of the conqueror were carried to the hospitals of the fortress and treated with the greatest humanity. Nine floating batteries were burnt by the red-hot shot, or

by the Spaniards themselves. The tenth was burnt by the English, when they found she could not be brought off. Their loss was inconsiderable; it amounted, according to their account, since the ninth of August, to no more than sixty-five killed, and three hundred and eighty-eight wounded. The fortifications received but slight damage; or at least not so considerable as to afford any room for future apprehension.

In this manner was victory obtained with lasting glory to general Elliot, and the whole garrison of Gibraltar. The treasures which the king of Spain had expended for the construction of these enormous machines, the bravery and perseverance of his troops, the valour and spirit of the French, were all in vain.

It cannot indeed be positively affirmed that if such formidable means of attack had even been employed in all their efficacy, and according to the intention of the generals, they would have sufficed to carry the place: but neither can it be denied that the Allies committed several faults of no little importance. The first was undoubtedly that of having hurried on the attack before M. D'Arcon had been able to bring his floating batteries to that degree of perfection which he could have wished. By working the pumps, he had perceived that the water of the pipes leaked upon the inward parts, and that the powder was exposed to be wet by it, and rendered unfit for use. He would have found a remedy for this inconvenience: but he was not allowed time to seek it. The inner pipes were therefore stopped up, and only the outer ones filled with water, which were found an insufficient defence against the effect of the red-hot

shot. It is, besides, to be considered that Don Moreno was ordered so abruptly to repair to the attack from the point of Majorca, that he found it impossible to form the line of his floating batteries in front of the Old Mole, as contemplated in the plan of attack. From that point his fire would assuredly have been more efficacious, and he might also have retired thence without difficulty if he had thought it necessary: but he was constrained to take post between the Old and the New Mole. Nor did the Spanish gun-boats answer the general expectation, whether they were in effect opposed by the wind, as was pretended, or that their spirit of adventure sunk under the dreadful fire from the garrison. Only two of them took any considerable share in the attack. The great fleet itself remained in a state of almost total inaction. It is uncertain whether this failure should be attributed to an unfavourable wind, or to secret jealousies between the land and sea commanders. The batteries on shore, whatever was the cause of it, were equally far from performing the services which were expected from them. Their fire was neither so well supported, nor so well directed as it should have been. It resulted from these several causes, that the garrison, instead of being disquieted upon all points at the same instant, found themselves at liberty to direct the whole weight and force of their fire against the floating batteries. In this manner was disconcerted the most ingenious design which for a long time had been framed by the wisdom of man. The most sanguine hopes suddenly gave place to the opinion, that Gibraltar was not only the strongest place known, but that it was absolutely inexpugnable.

Convinced, by this attack, that a regular siege could not have the desired issue, the allied commanders resolved to convert it into a blockade, and to await from famine what they despaired of obtaining by dint of arms. It was therefore of the highest importance to prevent admiral Howe from throwing into the place the intended relief.

The combined fleet had accordingly taken its anchorage in the bay of Algeiras, to the number of about fifty sail of the line; among which were five of one hundred and ten guns, and the *Trinidad*, of one hundred and twelve. The design of Don Lewis de Cordova, the commander of these forces, was to engage the British fleet as soon as it should appear, while his light squadron should give chase to the transports and capture them, one after another. It is not easy to explain why this admiral, instead of advancing to meet the enemy off Cape St. Mary, where he would have been able to display his whole line, took the determination to await him in a narrow bay, where the number of his ships, so far from being an advantage, could only tend to embarrass him. It appears that this disposition emanated immediately from the king of Spain, whose thoughts were all absorbed in the conquest of Gibraltar.

In the meantime, admiral Howe met with much delay through contrary winds and unfavourable weather, on his way to Gibraltar. His anxiety was therefore extreme lest the place should find itself necessitated to surrender before the arrival of succours. It was not till the fleet had arrived near the scene of action that his apprehensions were removed by intelligence received from the coast of Portugal, of the

total discomfiture of the combined forces. This news increased his hope of succeeding in his enterprise: he calculated that the enemy, discouraged by so severe a check, would show himself less eager to encounter him. Near the mouth of the straits he met with a furious gale of wind, which damaged several of his ships. The combined fleet suffered much more in the bay of Algesiras. One ship of the line was driven ashore near the city of that name; another fine Spanish ship, of seventy-two guns, was driven across the bay, under the works of Gibraltar, and was taken by the boats of the garrison. Two more were driven to the eastward into the Mediterranean; others lost masts or bowsprits; and many suffered more or less damage.

On the morning that succeeded the storm, the British fleet entered the straits' mouth, in a close line of battle a-head, and in the evening of the same day, it was opposite the port of Gibraltar; but the wind failing, only four victualling ships could enter the harbour. The rest of the transports with the squadron were drifted by the currents into the Mediterranean. The combined fleet took the same direction. A general action seemed inevitable: a calm and fog which came up, prevented it; or perhaps the admirals themselves were not disposed to engage without all probabilities of success. However it was, admiral Howe profiting dexterously of an east wind which sprung up in the strait, passed his whole convoy to Gibraltar harbour. To cover this operation, the British fleet had formed in order of battle at the mouth of the straits, fronting the Mediterra-

mean, between the opposite points of Europa and Ceuta.

The combined fleets then made their appearance, bearing directly down upon the enemy: but the British admiral considering that the revictualling of Gibraltar, the principal object of his mission, was accomplished, saw that it would be the highest imprudence and rashness to hazard an action in the strait. He knew the superiority of force that he would have to encounter; and he could not but perceive that the vicinity of the enemy's coasts would exceedingly aggravate, for him, the consequences of a defeat. He chose, if he was obliged to come to action, to have sea-room enough, in order, by his evolutions, to prevent its being decisive, as it must necessarily be in a confined space. Under these considerations, he took the advantage of a favourable wind, and repassed the straits into the Atlantic.

The Allies followed him with only a part of their fleet. Twelve of their largest ships of the line, being heavy sailors, were left behind. Meanwhile, their van came within reach of the British rear, and there immediately ensued between them a brisk though distant, cannonade, the only effect of which was to damage some vessels on both sides. Profiting of their superiority of sailing, the English drew off to such a distance, that the Allies lost all hope of coming up with them. They then took the resolution of repairing to Cadiz. Admiral Howe detached eight of his ships for the West Indies, six others to the coasts of Ireland, and returned with the rest to Portsmouth. The destruction of the floating batteries,

and the revictualling of Gibraltar, relieved England from all inquietude respecting the fate of that place. This double success was no less glorious for her arms than afflicting for the enemies she combated. The allies are reproached with having shown upon land too much precipitancy and too little concord; upon sea, too much indecision and too little spirit. In this occurrence as in those which had preceded it, the display of their great naval forces had resulted in little more than a vain parade. It is, however, to be considered that if during the course of all this war, the fleets of the allied courts gained no brilliant advantages, or rather sustained reverses, in general actions, their seamen more often than once acquired signal renown in particular engagements of ship with ship. The French, especially, manifested in these rencounters a valour and ability alike worthy of admiration, and often crowned with victory. We leave those to account for this difference who are more versed than ourselves in naval tactics.

The events which we have related, as well in this as in the foregoing Book, had occasioned among the belligerent powers an ardent desire, or rather an avowed will to put an end to the war. On all sides a hope was cherished that an honourable adjustment would soon be brought about. Several successive campaigns, without any important advantage, and the loss of the army taken at Yorktown, with Lord Cornwallis, had at length convinced the British ministry of the impossibility of subjugating the Americans by force of arms. The manœuvres employed to divide them among themselves, or to detach them from their allies, had not been attended with any better

success than military operations. On the other hand, the victories of Rodney and Elliot had not only dissipated all fears for the West Indies and Gibraltar, but also put in safety the honour of Great Britain. With the exception of the independence of the United States, which she could no longer refuse to acknowledge, she found herself in a situation to treat upon a footing of equality with her enemies relative to all other articles. Victorious at Gibraltar, holding the scale of fortune even in the seas of Europe, she had caused it to incline in her favour in the West Indies. If she had sustained sensible losses in that quarter, she had however acquired the island of St. Lucia, so important from its strength, the excellence of its ports, and the advantages of its position. Although it could not be considered as a sufficient indemnification on the part of Great Britain for the loss of Dominica, Grenada, Tobago and St. Christopher's, yet England had made so considerable conquests in the East Indies that she brought into a negotiation more objects of exchange than France could offer. But all these considerations yielded to another of far greater moment; the public debt of Great Britain, already enormous, experienced every day an alarming augmentation. The people did not conceal their desire for the return of peace, and the protraction of the war excited public murmurs. The ministers themselves, who had so severely censured the obstinacy of their predecessors in continuing the war, openly inclined for peace, whether because they thought it really necessary, or that they were afraid of incurring similar reproaches. An untimely death had carried off the Marquis of Rockingham, who, in the general direc-

tion of affairs, had conciliated universal esteem, and Fox had resigned. The first had been replaced by the Earl of Shelburne, and the second by William Pitt, son of the Earl of Chatham; both known for consenting rather from necessity than choice to the independence of America. The majority of the ministry, however, was composed of those who had obtained the repeal of the rigorous laws against the Americans, and who had afterwards distinguished themselves in parliament by advocating with singular warmth and eloquence an early acknowledgement of their independence. It was therefore determined to send Thomas Grenville to Paris, in order to sound the intentions of the French government, and to prepare the ways for the plenipotentiaries that were to follow him. A short time after, in effect, M. Fitz Herbert and M. Oswald repaired to the French capital in that character; they had little difficulty in penetrating the dispositions of the court of Versailles. The United States had taken care that their plenipotentiaries should assemble at Paris in this conjuncture; they were John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, John Jay, and Henry Laurens, who had recently been released from his detention in the tower of London.

If great was the desire of peace in England, it was not less ardently wished for in France, as well by the government as by the people. The court of Versailles had attained the object it had most at heart, that is the separation of the British colonies from the mother country. The first of the proposals of the court of London was, in effect, to acknowledge the independence of the United States: and this was the principal, and indeed the only avowed motive of France for taking up

arms. As to the situation of affairs in the West Indies, the operations that were in contemplation against those islands, interested Spain much more than France. And, besides, the discomfiture of the twelfth of April had deranged all plans, and extinguished all hopes. Nor was there any room to expect better fortune in the seas of Europe, since their empire had already been disputed for several years, without the occurrence of any decisive event.

The losses which France had sustained in the East Indies might counterbalance the conquests she had made in the West. Upon the whole, therefore, she found herself in a condition to treat for herself on equal terms with respect to the chances of war, and upon a footing of decided superiority in regard to its principal cause; the independence of the United States. Independent of the foregoing considerations, there existed others which powerfully urged a speedy re-establishment of peace. The finances were exhausted; and notwithstanding the judicious regulations and economy which the government had endeavoured to introduce into all the departments, the resources were no longer in proportion to the exorbitant charges of the war. The expenditure exceeded the receipt, and every day beheld the increase of the public debt. The re-establishment of the marine, expeditions in distant countries, the capture of several convoys which it had been necessary to replace, such were at first the charges which consumed the royal treasure. The Americans, afterwards, deprived in a great measure of all revenue by the slowness with which taxes were paid in their country, authorized themselves from the insufficiency of their means

to present incessantly new demands to the court of Versailles. After having permitted the farmers-general to lend them a million of livres, after having guarantied the loans which they had negotiated in Holland, Lewis XVI. had advanced them himself eighteen millions, and they still solicited six others. The French, at this epoch, had applied themselves with singular ardour to the extension of their commerce. The war had proved extremely prejudicial to it, and the merchants who had been the greatest sufferers could no longer hope to retrieve their losses, but by the cessation of hostilities. All these considerations led to a general opinion, that to the possibility of concluding an honourable peace was added the expediency and even the necessity of so doing.

As to Spain, the hope of conquering Gibraltar and Jamaica had been annihilated by the fatal days of the twelfth of April and the thirteenth of September. The continuation of the war with a view to these two objects, would therefore have been rather the effect of obstinacy than of constancy. On the other hand, the court of Madrid had acquired by its arms the province of West Florida and the island of Minorca. As England had no compensation to offer it for these two acquisitions, it was natural to think that a treaty of peace would confirm the possession of them to Spain. Though her views had been aimed much higher, these advantages were at least sufficient to prevent the Spaniards from complaining that they had taken part in the war without any personal interest, and through mere complaisance. It had never ceased to excite general surprise that the court of Madrid

should have furnished fuel to a conflagration which might become so fatal to itself, in taking part in a war whose professed object was that of establishing an independent republic in the immediate vicinity of her Mexican possessions. The contagion of example, the seduction of novelty, the natural proclivity of men to shake off the yoke, afforded without doubt reasonable grounds of apprehension and alarm. But if Spain had interfered in this great quarrel against her particular interests, she would have been doubly blameable in lavishing so much blood and treasure to prolong it, especially since the possession of Minorca and West Florida secured her honourable conditions. This power therefore inclined also towards the general pacification.

It remains for us to cast a glance upon the Dutch. Following their allies at a distance rather than marching at their side, they were constrained by their position to will whatever France willed. It was only from that power, and not from their own forces, that they could expect the termination of their disquietudes. If they had recovered St. Eustatius and Demerary, were they not indebted for it entirely to the arms of the king of France? They wished therefore for peace, since experience had taught them that war could yield them no advantage, and that it is never more detrimental than to a people whose existence is founded upon commerce.

To this inclination for peace, manifested at the same time by all the belligerent powers, was added the mediation of the two most powerful princes of Europe; the empress of Russia and the emperor of

Germany. Their intervention was accepted with unanimous consent: every thing verged towards a general peace.

Thus, towards the close of the present year, the negotiations at Paris were pushed with mutual ardour. The English and Americans were the first to come to an accommodation. They signed, the thirtieth of November, a provisional treaty, which was to be definitive and made public as soon as France and Great Britain should have adjusted their differences. The most important conditions of this treaty were, that the king of England acknowledged the liberty, sovereignty and independence of the thirteen United States of America, which were all named successively; that his Britannic majesty renounced, as well for himself as for his heirs and successors, all rights whatever over the government, property or territory of the said states. In order to prevent any occasion for complaints on either side upon the subject of limits, imaginary lines of boundary were agreed upon, which brought within the territory of the United States immense countries, lakes and rivers, to which, up to that time, they had never pretended any sort of claim. For, besides the vast and fertile countries situated upon the banks of the Ohio and Mississippi, the limits of the United States embraced a part of Canada and Nova Scotia; an acquisition which admitted the Americans to participate in the fur trade. Some Indian nations, which had hitherto existed under the domination of the English, and especially the Six Tribes, who had always adhered to their party and alliance, were now included in the new territory of the United States. The English were to

evacuate and restore all the parts which they still occupied, such as New York, Long Island, Staten Island, Charleston, Penobscot and all their dependencies. There was no mention made of Savannah, as the evacuation of that place and of all Georgia by the English, had already left it entirely in the power of Congress.

The Americans were also secured by the treaty of peace in the right of fishing on the banks of Newfoundland, in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and all other places where the two nations had been accustomed to carry on fishery before the rupture. It was expressly stipulated, that the Congress should recommend to the different states that they should decree the restitution of all confiscated effects, estates and property whatsoever, as well to British subjects as to those among the Americans who had adhered to the party of England. It was agreed, besides, that such individuals could not be questioned or prosecuted for any thing which they had said or done in favour of Great Britain. These last articles displeased certain zealous republicans, and became the object of vehement declamations on their part. They little reflected how vengeance, at first so sweet, may prove bitter in the result. The loyalists were not any more satisfied: galled at seeing their fate depend on a mere recommendation, which might have effect or not, according to the good pleasure of the several states, they complained of the ingratitude of England, who unworthily abandoned them to chance. Animated discussions also arose in parliament relative to this point. The party in opposition represented in glowing colours the infamy with which the ministers

were about to cover the name of England, in suffering those who had served her to become the prey of their persecutors. It seemed to have been forgotten that in these political convulsions it is necessary to have regard rather to what is possible or advantageous, than to that which is merely just and honourable. Every man who takes part in a civil conflict, must expect, sooner or later, to submit to this common law. Exclusively occupied with its great interests, the State deigns not even to perceive those of individuals. Its own preservation is the sole object of its cares; for it the public good is every thing, private utility nothing. Upon the adoption of these bases, it was agreed that hostilities, whether by land or sea, should cease immediately between Great Britain and America.

The preliminaries of peace between France
1783. and England were signed at Versailles on the twentieth of January 1783, by the Count de Vergennes, minister of foreign affairs, and M. Fitz Herbert, minister plenipotentiary of his Britannic majesty. England acquired thereby an extension of her right of fishery upon the banks of Newfoundland. But she restored to France in full property the islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon. She likewise restored her the island of St. Lucia, and ceded her that of Tobago. On the other hand, France restored to England the island of Grenada, with the Grenadines, Dominica, St. Vincent, St. Christopher, Nevis and Montserrat. In the East Indies, France recovered possession of Pondicherry, and Karical, and all her other establishments in Bengal and upon the coast of Orixá. Still other concessions of no little impor-

tance were made her, relating to trade and the right of fortifying different places. But an article singularly honourable for France, was that by which England consented to consider as entirely annulled all stipulations which had been made in regard to the port of Dunkirk, since the peace of Utrecht, in 1713.

The court of London ceded to that of Madrid the island of Minorca and the two Floridas. It obtained at the same time the restitution of the Bahama islands; a restitution which was afterwards found superfluous, since colonel Deveaux had just re-conquered those islands with a handful of men, equipped at his own expense. These preliminaries were converted into a definitive treaty of peace the third of September, 1783. It was signed on the part of France by the Count de Vergennes, and on that of Spain by the Count D'Aranda, and in behalf of England by the Duke of Manchester. The definitive treaty between Great Britain and the United States was signed the same day at Paris, by David Hartley on one part, and by John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, and John Jay, on the other. On the preceding day had likewise been concluded, at Paris, the separate treaty between Great Britain and the States General of Holland; the Duke of Manchester stipulating in the name of his Britannic majesty, and M. Van Berkenroode and M. Bransten, in behalf of their high mightinesses. The court of London restored to the Dutch their establishment of Trincomale; but they ceded to the English the city of Negapatam with its dependencies.

Notwithstanding all the pomp with which the allied courts had affected to assert the maritime rights

of neutrals, no mention whatever was made in these different treaties of so important a point of public law.

Such was the issue of the long struggle undertaken for the cause of America. If it may be supposed that the colonists had for a long time sought an opportunity to throw off the yoke, it must be admitted also that the English were themselves the first to excite them to it. Their rigorous laws irritated instead of restraining: the insufficiency of their military force, and the versatility of their measures, did but the more imbolden the resistance of the Americans. The war which ensued, was carried on, as civil wars have usually been, often with valour, always with desperation, and sometimes with barbarity. Between the English, on the contrary, and the other European nations which they had to combat, the reciprocal demonstrations of prowess received new lustre from that humanity and courtesy which eminently characterize the age in which we live. The Congress, and the Americans in general, displayed the most extraordinary constancy: the British ministers perhaps merited the reproach of obstinacy, and the cabinet of France distinguished itself by the singular sagacity of its policy.

From these different causes resulted the foundation in the New World of a Republic, happy within by its constitution, pacific by its character, respected and courted abroad for the abundance of its resources. So far as it is possible to judge of sublunary things, from the extent and fertility of its territory, and the rapid increase of its population, it is destined, at no distant day, to become a vast, and

exceedingly powerful state. To consolidate their work, and render its duration eternal, the Americans have only two things to avoid. The one is, that moral depravation which too commonly results from an excessive love of gain; the other is the losing sight of those principles upon which the edifice is founded. May they at least return to them promptly, if the ordinary course of human events should introduce disorder and decay into that admirable system of government which they have established!

With the exception of an affair of little importance in which colonel Laurens was slain, and the evacuation of Charleston, nothing had passed upon the American continent, deserving of particular attention. As soon as the preliminaries of peace were known there, the public joy manifested itself, but with much less enthusiasm however than might naturally be supposed. Peace had for a long time been looked upon as certain; and man enjoys more calmly the possession of happiness itself, than the hopes which precede it. New apprehensions, besides, soon arose to cloud the horizon; a secret fire menaced a conflagration, and at the very moment in which peace disarmed external enemies, an intestine war appeared ready to rend the republic. The pay of the army was excessively in arrear; the greater part of the officers had spent in the service of the state not only all they were possessed of, but also the fortunes of their friends. They were very apprehensive that the resolutions of October, 1780, by which the Congress had granted them half pay for a certain term of years, would not be carried into effect. They had therefore deputed a committee of officers, to solicit the attention of

Congress to this subject. Their instructions were, to press the immediate payment of the money actually due, the commutation of the half pay above mentioned for a sum in gross, and the indemnification of the officers for the sums which they had been compelled to advance in consequence of the failure of their rations. Some security that the engagements of the government would be complied with, was also to be requested. But whether because a part of the members of Congress were little disposed to favour the army, or that others were desirous that the particular states, and not the federal treasury, should support the burthen of these gratifications, nothing was decided. Discouraged at this slowness, the deputies wrote to the army. The other public creditors manifested no less disquietude than the officers. They foresaw plainly that the ordinary revenue would be altogether inadequate to the payment of the sums that were due to them; and they were equally convinced of the repugnance which the states would have to impose new taxes for the purpose of raising the means to satisfy their demands. The discontent of the first and of the second was extreme, they already anticipated their total ruin.

The American government at this epoch, was divided in two parties: one was sincerely disposed to do ample justice to the public creditors generally, and to this end they desired the establishment of a general tax; they laboured to fund the public debts on solid continental securities; they wished also to create a revenue to answer the necessities of the republic, and to be subject to the disposal of Congress. The opposite party considered this revenue as dan-

gerous to liberty. They contended that the particular states alone, not the Congress, should have authority to impose taxes or duties. Already, at the recommendation of Congress, twelve states had subjected to a duty of five per cent. all foreign produce or manufactures that should be imported into the United States. One state, however, out of the thirteen, had refused to comply with the wishes of Congress, and this refusal paralyzed the action of the twelve others.

It was at this epoch that intelligence was received of the signature of the preliminary and eventual articles of peace; the disbanding of the army must be its necessary consequence. The partisans of the tax then became apprehensive that their adversaries, when relieved from the maintenance of the troops, and from the fear which they inspired, would show themselves still more adverse to the creation of a national revenue. They saw not only that the creditors of the state would thus be cut off from all hope, but that the republic itself would be exposed for the future to incessant and inextricable embarrassments, for want of a general authority invested with the power of imposing taxes. They resolved, therefore, to profit of an occasion which would never again present itself, to procure the adoption of a plan whose utility appeared to them incontestable. They were undecided, however, as to the means to be employed in this conjuncture: several contradictory opinions were advanced. The more resolute, not reflecting upon the danger of an irregular appeal to the multitude in affairs of state, were inclined to resort to force, and to make of the army itself the instrument of their de-

signs. At the head of these were Alexander Hamilton, then member of Congress, the treasurer Robert Morris, with another Morris, his assistant in office. But the more circumspect thought it advisable to pursue a middle course, and to permit the army to threaten but not to act: as if the hand which has excited a popular movement could also appease it at pleasure! In the secret councils that were held upon this affair, the latter opinion prevailed. Colonel Stewart, of the regular troops of Pennsylvania, was sent to camp under pretext of entering upon the exercise of his office of inspector-general. He had instructions to sound the dispositions of Washington, and to endeavour to ascertain how far he would consent to give into the plan agreed upon. It was especially recommended to him to foment the agitation which prevailed in the army, and to persuade it not to disband until it had obtained full assurance that the arrears of pay should be liquidated, together with an indemnification for the supplies which it ought to have had, but which had been withheld up to that time. Whether the commander-in-chief was not disinclined towards this scheme, or that he thought it prudent not to declare himself too ostensibly, colonel Stewart believed, or at least made others believe, that Washington approved it entirely. Meanwhile, the members of the opposite party were soon apprized of what was passing, and set themselves to counteract it. Convinced of the importance of obtaining the countenance of Washington, they put forward a certain Harvey, who had manifested an extreme ardour in these discussions. This man wrote to the commander-in-chief that under the pretence of wish-

ing to satisfy the public creditors, the most pernicious designs were meditated against the republic; that nothing less was in agitation than a plot to demolish the fabric of freedom, and to introduce tyranny. To these insinuations he joined others relating to Washington personally; he intimated to him that it was wished to deprive him of his rank, to put down his friends, and, in a word, to destroy the work which they had accomplished with so much glory, and at the expense of so much toil and blood. Washington could not but entertain certain apprehensions. He doubted there were machinations in agitation which portended no good to the state. He circulated the letter of Harvey, that its contents might be known even to the soldiers. He exerted all his authority to prevent an insurrection. The commander-in-chief thus declared himself publicly against a design, which perhaps within his own breast he did not altogether disapprove, though he blamed, and not without reason, the means by which it was to have been carried into execution. The most alarming rumours were propagated on all parts. It was loudly exclaimed that the troops, before they disbanded, ought to obtain justice; that they had a right to claim the fruit of victories which their valour had won: that the other creditors of the state, and many members of the Congress itself, invoked the interference of the army, prepared to follow the example which they expected from it. Minds became highly inflamed; assemblages were formed in the camp, and it was openly proposed in them to make law for the Congress. In the midst of this effervescence, circulated anonymous invitations to the officers to convene in general assem-

bly. On the eleventh of March, was passed from hand to hand an address, the author of which did not name himself, but who was known afterwards to be major John Armstrong. This writing, composed with great ingenuity, and with greater passion, was singularly calculated to aggravate the exasperation of the soldiers, and to conduct them to the most desperate resolutions. Blameable in a time of calm, it became really criminal at a moment when all heads were in a state of the most vehement irritation. Among other incendiary passages, it contained the following: "After a pursuit of seven years, the object for which we set out is at length brought within our reach: yes, my friends, that suffering courage of yours was active once: it has conducted the United States of America through a doubtful and a bloody war. It has placed her in the chair of independency, and peace returns again to bless.....whom? a country willing to redress your wrongs, cherish your worth, and reward your services? a country courting your return to private life, with tears of gratitude, and smiles of admiration, longing to divide with you that independence which your gallantry has given, and those riches which your wounds have preserved? Is this the case? or is it rather a country that tramples upon your rights, disdains your cries, and insults your distresses? Have you not more than once suggested your wishes, and made known your wants to Congress? Wants and wishes which gratitude and policy should have anticipated rather than evaded; and have you not lately, in the meek language of entreating memorials, begged from their justice what you could no longer expect from their favour? How have you

been answered? Let the letter of your delegates to Philadelphia reply.

“ If this, then, be your treatment while the swords you wear are necessary for the defence of America, what have you to expect when your voice shall sink, and your strength dissipate by division? When those very swords, the instruments and companions of your glory, shall be taken from your sides, and no remaining mark of military distinction left but your wants, infirmities, and scars? Can you then consent to be the only sufferers by this revolution, and retiring from the field, grow old in poverty, wretchedness and contempt? Can you consent to wade through the vile mire of dependency, and owe the miserable remnant of that life to charity, which has hitherto been spent in honour? If you can, go....and carry with you the jest of tories and the scorn of whigs....the ridicule, and what is worse, the pity of the world. Go, starve, and be forgotten! But if your spirit should revolt at this; if you have sense enough to discover, and spirit enough to oppose tyranny under whatever garb it may assume; whether it be the plain coat of republicanism or the splendid robe of royalty; if you have yet learned to discriminate between a people and a cause, between men and principles, awake; attend to your situation, and redress yourselves. If the present moment be lost, every future effort is in vain; and your threats then will be as empty as your entreaties now.”

These words, more worthy of a raving tribune of the people, than of a discreet American, chafed minds already exasperated into a delirium of fury. The general fermentation announced the most sinister

events; and war between the civil and military powers appeared inevitable. But Washington, whose constancy no crisis could shake, strong in the love and veneration of the people, contemplated the danger of his country, and instantly formed the generous design of extinguishing the kindling conflagration. He was not ignorant how much better it is, in such circumstances, to lead misguided minds than to resist them; how much easier it is to obviate intemperate measures than to correct them. He resolved, therefore, to prevent the meeting of the officers. With this view, in his orders addressed to the officers, he expressed the conviction he felt that their own good sense would secure them from paying any attention to an anonymous invitation; but his own duty, he added, as well as the reputation and true interest of the army, required his disapprobation of such disorderly proceedings. At the same time, he requested the general and field officers, with one officer from each company, and a proper representation from the staff of the army, to assemble in order to deliberate upon the measures to be adopted for obtaining the redress of their grievances.

By this conduct, the prudence of which is undeniable, Washington succeeded in impressing the army with a belief that he did not disapprove their remonstrances, and the leaders of the insurrection, in particular, that he secretly favoured their designs. By this means he gained time for disposing minds and things in such a manner that the military committee should take only those resolutions which entered into his plan. The following day, Armstrong circulated a second anonymous paper, in which he

congratulated the officers upon the prospect that their measures were about to receive the sanction of public authority; he exhorted them to act with energy in the assembly convoked for the fifteenth of March.

In the meantime, Washington exerted the whole weight of his influence to bring the agitations of the moment to a happy termination: he endeavoured to impress on those officers individually who possessed the greatest share of the general confidence, a just sense of what the exigency required; to some he represented the dangers of the country; to others, the constancy they had hitherto manifested; to all, the glory they had acquired, and the interest they had in transmitting it entire and unsullied to their posterity. He reminded them also of the exhausture of the public treasury, and of the infamy with which they would brand themselves in giving birth to civil war, at the very moment in which the public happiness was about to revive in the midst of peace. On the day appointed by Washington, the convention of officers assembled. The commander-in-chief addressed them a speech, as judicious as it was eloquent, in which he endeavoured to destroy the effect of the anonymous papers. He demonstrated all the horror of the alternative proposed by the author, that in case of peace, the army should turn their arms against the state unless it instantly complied with their demands, and if war continued, that they should abandon its defence by removing into some wild and unsettled country.

“My God!” he exclaimed, “what can this writer have in view, by recommending such measures? Can

he be a friend to the army? Can he be a friend to this country? Rather is he not an insidious foe; some emissary, perhaps, from New York, plotting the ruin of both, by sowing the seeds of discord and separation between the civil and military authorities of the continent?" "Let me entreat you, gentlemen," he added, "not to take any measures, which viewed in the calm light of reason will lessen the dignity, and sully the glory you have hitherto maintained: let me request you to rely on the plighted faith of your country, and place a full confidence in the purity of the intentions of Congress; that previous to your dissolution as an army, they will cause all your accounts to be fairly liquidated; and that they will adopt the most effectual measures in their power to render ample justice to you for your faithful and meritorious services. And let me conjure you in the name of our common country, as you value your own sacred honour, as you respect the rights of humanity, and as you regard the military and national honour of America, to express your utmost horror and detestation of the man who wishes, under any specious pretences, to overturn the liberties of our country; and who wickedly attempts to open the flood gates of civil discord, and deluge our rising empire in blood.

"By thus determining, and thus acting, you will pursue the plain and direct road to the attainment of your wishes: you will defeat the insidious designs of our enemies, who are compelled to resort from open force to secret artifice. You will give one more distinguished proof of unexampled patriotism and patient virtue, rising superior to the pressure of the most complicated sufferings; and you will, by the

dignity of your conduct, afford occasion for posterity to say, when speaking of the glorious example you have exhibited to mankind: 'Had this day been wanting, the world had never seen the last stage of perfection to which human nature is capable of attaining.' "

When Washington had concluded his discourse, a profound silence ensued in the assembly; soon those who composed it communicated to each other in a low voice, the sentiments with which they were impressed. The authority of such a personage, the weight of his words, the sincere affection which he bore to the army, operated irresistibly upon all minds. The effervescence gave place to a calm. No voice was heard in opposition to that of the chief. The deputies of the army declared unanimously that no circumstances of distress or danger should induce them to sully the glory which they had acquired; that the army continued to have an unshaken confidence in the justice of Congress and their country; that they entreated the commander-in-chief to recommend to the government the subject of their memorials; and, finally, that they abhorred the infamous propositions contained in the anonymous writing addressed to the officers of the army. Thus Washington, by his prudence and firmness, was instrumental in preserving his country from the new danger that menaced it, at the very moment when its safety seemed to have been established forever. Who knows what might have happened, if civil war had ensanguined the very cradle of this republic? The captain-general kept his word, and was himself the advocate of his officers with the Congress. He obtained of

them a decree, commuting the half pay into a sum in gross equal to five years' full pay, and that either in money, or securities bearing an interest of six per cent. According to the orders of Congress, three months' pay was advanced to the officers and soldiers in the notes of the treasurer. But this measure was not taken till late, and not until the Pennsylvania militia had broken out into so violent an insurrection, at Philadelphia, that they blockaded, with arms in hand, the very hall of Congress for some hours. The reduction of the continental army became then the principal object of attention, and discharges were granted successively to those soldiers, who during seven campaigns of a most obstinate war, had struggled with an heroic constancy, not only against sword and fire, but also against hunger, nakedness, and even the fury of the elements. Their work completed, their country acknowledged independent, they peaceably returned to their families. The Congress voted them public thanks, in the name of a grateful country. The English were not slow to evacuate New York and its dependencies, in which they had made so long a stay, A little after, the French departed from Rhode Island for their possessions, carrying with them the benedictions of all the Americans.

The Congress, in order to celebrate worthily the establishment of peace and independence, appointed the eleventh of December, to be observed as a day of solemn thanksgiving to the Dispenser of all good. By another decree they ordained that an equestrian statue of bronze should be erected to general Washington, in the city where the Congress should hold its sessions. The general was to be represented by it in

the Roman costume, with the staff of command in the right hand, and the head encircled with a crown of laurel. The pedestal of marble was to be invested with *bassi relievi* commemorative of the principal events of the war, which had taken place under the immediate command of Washington, such as the deliverance of Boston, the taking of the Hessians at Trenton, the affair of Princeton, the battle of Monmouth, and the surrender of Yorktown. The anterior face of the pedestal was to bear the following inscription. *The United States assembled in Congress, voted this statue, in the year of our Lord 1783, in honour of George Washington, captain-general of the armies of the United States of America, during the war which vindicated and secured their liberty, sovereignty, and independence.*

Such was the issue of a contest which during the course of eight consecutive years, chained the attention of the universe, and drew the most powerful nations of Europe to take a share in it. It is worthy of the observer to investigate the causes which have concurred to the triumph of the Americans, and baffled the efforts of their enemies. In the first place, they had the good fortune not to encounter opposition from foreign nations, and even to find among them benevolence, countenance, and succours. These favourable dispositions, while they inspired them with more confidence in the justice of their cause, redoubled also their spirit and energy. To these considerations should be added the geographical position of their country, separated by vast seas from nations which keep on foot great standing armies, and defended on all other points by impenetrable forests,

immense deserts and inaccessible mountains, and having in all this part no other enemy to fear except the Indian tribes, more capable of infesting and ravaging the frontiers than of making any permanent encroachments. One of the most powerful causes of the success of the American revolution, should, doubtless, be sought in the little difference which existed between the form of government which they abandoned and that which they wished to establish. It was not from absolute, but from limited monarchy, that they passed to the freedom of an elective government. Moral things, with men, are subject to the same laws as physical; *the laws of all nature*. Total and sudden changes cannot take place without causing disasters or death.

The royal authority, tempered by the very nature of the government, and still enfeebled by distance, scarcely made itself perceptible in the British colonies. When the Americans had shaken it off entirely, they experienced no considerable change. Royalty alone was effaced; the administration remained the same, and the republic found itself established without shock. Such was the advantage enjoyed by the American insurgents, whereas the people of other countries, who should undertake to pass all at once from absolute monarchy to the republican scheme, would find themselves constrained to overturn not only monarchical institutions, but all others, in order to substitute new ones in their stead. But such a subversion cannot take place without doing violence to the opinions, usages, manners and customs of the greater number, nor even without grievously wounding their interests. Discontent propagates itself;

democratic forms serve as the mere mask of royalty; the people discover that they have complained of imaginary evils; they eagerly embrace the first opportunity to measure back their steps, even to the very point which they started from.

Another material cause of the happy issue of this grand enterprise, will be seen in the circumspect and moderate conduct invariably pursued by that considerate and persevering people by whom it was achieved. Satisfied with having abolished royalty, they paused there, and discreetly continued to respect the ancient laws, which had survived the change. Thus they escaped the chagrin of having made their condition worse in attempting to improve it. They had the good sense to reflect that versatility in counsels degrades the noblest cause, chills its partisans, and multiplies its opponents. There will always be more alacrity in a career whose goal is fixed and apparent, than in that where it is concealed in obscurity. The Americans reared the tree, because they suffered it to grow; they gathered its fruit, because they allowed it to ripen. They were not seen to plume themselves on giving every day a new face to the state. Supporting evil with constancy, they never thought of imputing it to the defects of their institutions, nor to the incapacity or treason of those who governed them, but to the empire of circumstances. They were especially indebted for this moderation of character to the simplicity of their hereditary manners; few among them aspired to dignity and power.

They presented not the afflicting spectacle of friends dissolving their ancient intimacies, and even declaring a sudden war upon each other, because one

was arrived at the helm of state without calling the other to it. With them patriotism triumphed over ambition. There existed royalists and republicans; but not republicans of different sects, rending with their dissensions the bosom of their country. There might be among them a diversity of opinions, but never did they abandon themselves to sanguinary feuds, proscriptions and confiscations. From their union resulted their victory: they immolated their enmities to the public weal, their ambition to the safety of the state, and they reaped the fruit of it: an ever memorable proof that if precipitate resolutions cause the failure of political enterprises, temper and perseverance conduct them to a glorious issue.

The army was disbanded; but the supreme command still remained in the hands of Washington: the public mind was intent upon what he was about to do. His prudence reminded him that it was time to put a term to the desire of military glory: his thoughts were now turned exclusively upon leaving to his country a great example of moderation. The Congress was then in session at the city of Annapolis in Maryland. Washington communicated to that body his resolution to resign the command, and requested to know whether it would be their pleasure that he should offer his resignation in writing, or at an audience. The Congress answered that they appointed the twenty-third of December for that ceremony. When this day arrived, the hall of Congress was crowded with spectators; the legislative and executive characters of the state, several general officers, and the consul-general of France were present. The members of Congress remained seated and covered. The spectators were

standing and uncovered. The general was introduced by the secretary, and conducted to a seat near the president. After a decent interval, silence was commanded, and a short pause ensued. The president, general Mifflin, then informed him, that the United States in Congress assembled were prepared to receive his communications. Washington rose, and with an air of inexpressible dignity, delivered the following address:

“Mr. President: The great events on which my resignation depended, having at length taken place, I have now the honour of offering my sincere congratulations to Congress, and of presenting myself before them to surrender into their hands the trust committed to me, and to claim the indulgence of retiring from the service of my country. Happy in the confirmation of our independence and sovereignty, and pleased with the opportunity afforded the United States of becoming a respectable nation, I resign with satisfaction the appointment I accepted with diffidence; a diffidence in my abilities to accomplish so arduous a task, which, however, was superceded by a confidence in the rectitude of our cause, the support of the supreme power of the Union, and the patronage of heaven. The successful termination of the war has verified the most sanguine expectations; and my gratitude for the interposition of Providence, and the assistance I have received from my countrymen, increases with every review of the momentous contest. While I repeat my obligations to the army in general, I should do injustice to my own feelings not to acknowledge in this place, the peculiar services and distinguished merits of the gentlemen who have

been attached to my person during the war. It was impossible the choice of confidential officers to compose my family should have been more fortunate. Permit me, sir, to recommend in particular, those who have continued in the service to the present moment, as worthy of the favourable notice and patronage of Congress.

“ I consider it as an indispensable duty, to close this last act of my official life by commending the interests of our dearest country to the protection of Almighty God, and those who have the superintendence of them to his holy keeping. Having now finished the work assigned me, I retire from the great theatre of action, and bidding an affectionate farewell to this august body, under whose orders I have so long acted, I here offer my commission, and take my leave of all the employments of public life.”

Having spoken thus, he advanced to the chair of the president, and deposited the commission in his hands. The president made him, in the name of Congress, the following answer:

“ Sir: The United States in Congress assembled, receive with emotions too affecting for utterance, the solemn resignation of the authorities under which you have led their troops with success through a perilous and a doubtful war. Called upon by your country to defend its invaded rights, you accepted the sacred charge, before it had formed alliances, and whilst it was without funds or a government to support you. You have conducted the great military contest with wisdom and fortitude, invariably regarding the rights of the civil power, through all disasters and changes.

You have, by the love and confidence of your fellow-citizens, enabled them to display their martial genius, and transmit their fame to posterity. You have persevered, until the United States, aided by a magnanimous king and nation, have been enabled, under a just Providence, to close the war in freedom, safety, and independence; on which happy event, we sincerely join you in congratulations. Having defended the standard of liberty in this New World, having taught a lesson useful to those who inflict, and to those who feel oppression, you retire from the great theatre of action, with the blessing of your fellow-citizens; but the glory of your virtues will not terminate with your military command; it will continue to animate the remotest ages. We feel, with you, our obligations to the army in general, and will particularly charge ourselves with the interests of those confidential officers who have attended your person to this affecting moment. We join you in commending the interests of our dearest country to the protection of Almighty God, beseeching him to dispose the hearts and minds of its citizens to improve the opportunity afforded them of becoming a happy and respectable nation. And for you, we address to him our earnest prayers that a life so beloved, may be fostered with all his care; that your days may be happy as they have been illustrious; and that he will finally give you that reward which this world cannot give."

When the president had terminated his discourse, a long and profound silence pervaded the whole assembly. All minds appeared impressed with the

grandeur of the scene, the recollections of the past, the felicity of the present, and the hopes of the future. The captain-general and Congress were the object of universal eulogium.

A short time after this ceremony, Washington retired to enjoy the long desired repose of his seat of Mount-Vernon, in Virginia.

END OF BOOK FOURTEENTH AND LAST.





